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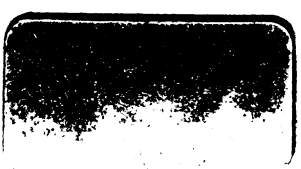

WESTERN ASIA IN THE DAYS OF SARGON OF ASSYRIA

BY

ALBERT TEN EYCK OLMSTEAD

PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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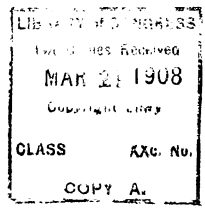

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INTRODUCTION

The present work is a thesis presented to the President White School of History and Political Science at Cornell University, and is published as one of its studies. It is an attempt to investigate methodically a brief period of Oriental history, interesting alike to the Assyriologist, the Biblical scholar, and the student of classical antiquity.

I began the study of the Sargon inscriptions with Professor Schmidt in 1901. A year later this subject was chosen for my thesis for the degree of Master of Arts from Cornell University. The year 1903–1904 was spent in preparation for a trip to Syria lasting from May, 1904, to August, 1905, while I was Fellow of the American School for Oriental Studies at Jerusalem. In preparation for this trip a collection of the published Assyrian data relating to Syria had been made, and these were again studied in Syria. The towns of Hamath, Çimirra, Damascus, Tyre, Samaria, Ashdod, Gaza, and Raphia, actually mentioned by the scribes of Sargon, were visited. The Muçri question, so important for our whole conception of Sargon's Syrian policy, was studied in the Negeb itself. Possibly most valuable of all was the constant and very close contact with the natives of all conditions, nations, and religions.

Among points to which special attention may perhaps be invited in this work are the chronological clue to the eponym canon fragment, the utilization and placing together of the fragments of Prism B, the use of which has materially modified the chronology of the reign, the discussion of the Negeb and Muçri question from a personal knowledge of the

field, the relegation of the Dur Sharrukin group to its proper place, and the reconstruction of the history on the basis of the topography, resulting in a number of new identifications, especially in Asia Minor.

Credit should be given to those who have generously afforded me help. I desire to express my thanks to my friends, Mr. B. B. Charles, assistant in Semitics at Cornell, and Mr. J. E. Wrench, fellow in history at Wisconsin, both of whom were with me in Syria, for many suggestions. Professor J. R. S. Sterrett, who has an intimate personal knowledge of Asia Minor, has often rendered important assistance. From Professor G. L. Burr I have received valuable aid in applying a strict historical method, and Professor H. A. Sill has helped on the side of classical history. Above all, I owe a heavy debt of gratitude to Professor N. Schmidt. For eight years it has been my good fortune to be closely associated with him, first as student, and then as assistant, both at Cornell University and later in Syria. To him I owe my knowledge of Semitic languages and Oriental history. In a very real sense this work owes to his inspiration both its origin and its completion.

A. T. OLMSTEAD.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION v

THE SOURCES 1

ACCESSION 25

BABYLONIA AND SYRIA 43

THE NORTHWEST FRONTIER 81

THE ARMENIAN WARS 103

THE MEDIAN WARS 117

THE ELAMITISH WARS AND THE CONQUEST OF BABYLON 129

THE LAST YEARS 148

THE CULTURE LIFE 160

WESTERN ASIA IN THE DAYS OF SARGON OF ASSYRIA, 722–705 B. C.

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES

The resurrection of the Assyrian world and the discovery of Sargon are synchronous. Prior to 1843, when Botta made his first excavations, it was no exaggeration to say that "a case scarcely three feet square enclosed all that remained, not only of the great city, Nineveh, but of Babylon itself."[1] When that scholar left his consulate at Baghdad to excavate in the huge shapeless mound of Khorsabad, a new world came into being. A new people and a new language, new customs and a new art, surprised the world; and Sargon, thus far known only by a single reference in the Bible,[2] suddenly took his place by the side of Cyrus or Croesus as one of the great monarchs of the ancient Orient.

The first efforts of Botta were confined almost entirely to the securing of bas-reliefs and inscriptions.[3] A later expedition, led by Place in 1851, yielded a less rich booty of such finds, but, by the careful uncovering of the whole palace mound, gave us what is still the best plan of an Assyrian

[1] A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 1849, xxv.

[2] Isaiah 20[1].

[3] The first results were published in *Journal Asiatique*, IV Series, vols. II–IV, and later as a separate work by Botta, *Lettres sur les découvertes de Khorsabad*, 1845, the definitive edition of the results in Botta and Flandin, *Monuments de Ninive*, 1849–50.

palace.[4] Another expedition, though adding nothing to our Assyrian material, gave Oppert an opportunity of studying the inscriptions and remains *in situ*.[5]

Thus for a considerable period, Sargon and his works were the most important matters Assyriologists had for discussion. But as new sites were excavated and new documents were found, the interest gradually shifted to other fields where more hope of startling discoveries was to be had. And, indeed, there is little reason to look for many new historical documents of Sargon's reign being found; for the palace he built has been thoroughly excavated and most of the other places he occupied have been more or less fully explored. From the philological side there is no likelihood of great change, and the standard edition by Winckler[6] is nearly final.

But though there is little call for a re-editing of the texts, two causes make a re-writing of the history very necessary. On the one hand, a large amount of new material has become available. This is not, of course, to any great extent of a historical nature. But in the wealth of letters, charters, business documents, and other material of this sort, we are not so very differently situated from the historian of Mediaeval Europe who uses the same kind of documents to check and amplify his chronicles.

But even more important is the change in our attitude toward these sources. We no longer are content with a collection, however exhaustive, of the material. We must first criticize our sources and then interpret them, not only in sympathy with the past, but with special reference to the historical demands of our own day. Let us see how all this affects our estimates of these inscriptions.

[4] V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 1867–70.

[5] J. Oppert, *Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie*, 1859–63.

[6] H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, 1889.

At first sight, nothing could be more certain than the accuracy of these sources. We have here no manuscripts corrupted by frequent copying. Our documents are originals, and, what is more, are the productions of contemporaries whose results are given us stamped with the stamp of official approval. Other reasons, no less potent though less recognized and less legitimate, were the natural prejudice in favor of the newest discoveries, especially when discovered in so wonderful a way, and the even more natural feeling of favor with which Christian men and women viewed the documents, risen from the earth, which so often refuted the over-zealous "higher critic." [7]

Our report must be much less favorable. These records are official. In that fact lies their strength and their weakness. The opportunities for securing the truth were ample. Royal scribes accompanied the various expeditions[8] and the archive chambers were full of detailed reports from commanders in the field. But, like all official records, ancient or modern, these documents have been edited to a degree of which it is difficult to conceive. A few examples may not be out of place to show how far from trustworthy they are. Sometimes a foreign source may afford the needed correction, as when Rusash of Haldia turns up safe, sound, and victorious enough to erect the Topsana stele some time after the suicide the Assyrian scribes so pathetically describe, or as when the Hebrew account[9] declares that the leader of the Ashdod expedition was the Tartan and not the king[10] him-

[7] S. Karppe, *Les Documents historiques de la Chaldée et de l'Assyrie et la Vérité, Revue Sémitique,* 1894, 347 *ff.*, is rather trite but marks a step in the right direction.

[8] For the gittai officials who went as scribes to the field of battle, compare Johns, *Deeds,* II. 168.

[9] Isaiah, *l. c.*

[10] As claimed by Sargon, Prism B.

self, or as when from the Babylonian chronicle we learn that the victory Sargon claims to have won at Dur ilu was really a defeat.[11] In each of these cases there was every inducement for Sargon's scribes not to tell the truth, while the foreign writers were under much less temptation.

But sometimes we do not need to go beyond Sargon himself. Out of his own mouth we may convict him of untruth. Note, for example, the three accounts of the fate of Merodach Baladan. In one he is captured.[12] In the second he begs for peace.[13] In the third, he runs away and escapes.[14] Naturally, we are inclined to accept the last, and this is confirmed by the later course of events.[15] But such an occurrence raises a doubt in our mind as to the accuracy of other cases where the official accounts do not agree among themselves. When, for instance, we have one account of the Ashdod expedition in which we are told that Iamani was captured[16] and another where we learn that he fled to Meluhha whence he was brought back,[17] we are inclined to wonder if he did not really escape.[18]

Another question and one which must affect our estimate of Sargon's character, is how far the use of the first person actually means personal command in the field. In one or two cases,[19] where the absurdity of this would have been self-evident, due credit is given to the local commander. The use of the first person means no more than does the triumph of a Roman emperor mean that he was in the field

[11] Cf. the study of the battle of Dur ilu in chapter III.

[12] D. 133.

[13] Annals V; cf. F. Peiser, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1889, 412 *ff.*

[14] A. 349.

[15] See further in chapter VII. n. 57.

[16] A. 225.

[17] D. 112.

[18] Cf. chapter III. n. 68.

[19] A. 307, 393, 408.

himself. In many cases it would clearly have been impossible for Sargon to have been in widely separated parts of the empire at practically the same time. Many campaigns are too petty for the great king to have troubled himself about. Only once does the Hebrew allow us to check and then, in the important Ashdod revolt, it is the Tartan and not the king who is in command.[20] Indeed, from the letters and the prayers to Shamash,[21] we find that it was the exception rather than the rule for the king to war at the head of his army. In several cases it has already been recognized that we must see separate movements under separate commanders to the consequent clearing up of the history.[22] Much must still be done along this line.

A mere reference may be made here to the exaggerated and discordant figures given in the various documents. The plea of Oriental disregard for numbers may be made, but can hardly stand in the face of the small and exact numbers of the epistolary literature. Nor should we forget the stereotyped formulæ which have no more real meaning than have the accounts of battles in Diodorus. Enough has been shown, it would seem, to indicate the care with which we must study these sources, even when their statements are not directly challenged by other evidence. Even within the official inscriptions themselves there are groups of varying degrees of trustworthiness. Unfortunately, the one least valuable is the fullest, and has, until the present, been too fully trusted. Unfortunately, too, our other evidence is of a fragmentary character and so often we must accept the version of the official inscriptions of this group or trust to

[20] Cf. n. 18.

[21] J. A. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete,* 1893.

[22] A. Billerbeck, *Susa,* 1893, has done this for the Susa campaigns. In his *Suleimania,* 1898, he has done the same for the Median wars.

mere conjecture. This group is that comprising the various documents dating from about the year 707 and coming down to us inscribed on the walls of Sargon's new capital of Dur Sharrukin. It includes the Annals,[23] the Annals of Hall XIV,[24] the Display Inscription,[25] which form a sub-group of larger inscriptions, and a group of smaller ones including the Cylinders[26] from the foundations, the inscriptions on the Bulls,[27] the tablets found in the foundation stone,[28] those

[23] The Annals; abbreviated as A., was first published by Botta, *op. cit.*, pls. 70 *ff.*, 104 *ff.*, 158 *ff.* The latest and best edition by Winckler, *Sargon*, II. pl. I *ff.* Translated by Oppert in Place, *Ninive*, II. 309 *ff.*; in *Les inscriptions de Dour Sarkayan*, 1870 29 *ff.*; in *Records of the Past*, I Series, 1873 *ff.*, VII. 21 *ff.*; by J. Ménant, *Annales des Rois d'Assyrie*, 1874, 158 *ff.*; by Winckler, *De Inscriptione quae vocatur Annalium*, 1886; in *Sargon*, I. 3 *ff.*

[24] The various parts of this inscription are published in their place with the other versions of the Annals by Winckler, but in his translation he has collected them separately, placing them after the Annals proper.

[25] The Display Inscription is the *Fastes* of the French and the *Prunkinschrift* of the Germans. Text in Botta, *op. cit.*, pl. 93 *ff.*; Winckler, *Sargon*, II. pl. 30 *ff.*; translated by Oppert and Ménant, *Les Fastes de Sargon*, 1863 = *Journal Asiatique*, 1863–65; Ménant, *Annales*, 180 *ff.*; Oppert, *Records of the Past*,[1] IX. 1 *ff.*; Winckler, *Sargon*, I. 97 *ff.*; F. E. Peiser, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, 1889 *ff.*, II. 52 *ff.* There are four versions on the walls of rooms IV, VII, VIII, X. Of these, X is nearly complete while the others make only verbal changes. The date is the same as that of A. since D. 155–157 = A. 416–118. A further limitation is found in D. 23 where Sargon refers to his fifteenth year (707). Quoted as D.

[26] Published by Place, *Ninive*, II. 291 *ff.*; Oppert, *Dour Sarkayan*, 11 *ff.*; I. R. 36; D. G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, 1883, 1 *ff.*; Winckler, *op. cit.*, II. pl. 43. Translated by Oppert in Place, *l. c.*; by Oppert, *l. c.*; Ménant, *Annales*, 199 *ff.*; Lyon, *op. cit.*, 30 *ff.*; Peiser, *Keilinschr. Bibl.*, II. 39 *ff.*; A. Barta in R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, 1901, 59 *ff.* The variants are of small importance. A fragment of a somewhat similar text found at Jerusalem is published by Ménant, *Recueil de Travaux*, 1890 (XIII), 194.

[27] Published by Botta, *op. cit.*, pl. 22 *ff.*; Oppert in Place, *op. cit.*, 283 *ff.*; *Dour Sarkayan*, 3 *ff.*; Lyon, *op. cit.*, 13 *ff.*; Winckler, *op. cit.*, II. pl. 41 *f.* Translated by Oppert, *l. c.*, and *Records of the Past*,[1] XI. 17 *ff.*;

on the gate pavements,[29] and those on the backs of the sculptured slabs.[30]

Of the two sub-groups, the first is not only fuller, but generally more accurate, though there are cases where the second seems to point to a more probable situation.[31] Of the first, again, the Annals is the most trustworthy as well as the backbone of our chronology. As compared with the other documents of the Dur Sharrukin group, details are given most fully, numbers are still fairly reasonable, and the facts seem least distorted. Yet often the four versions of the Annals differ among themselves in a most remarkable manner[32] and in some cases two slightly differing accounts have

Ménant, *op. cit.*, 192 *ff.*; Lyons, *op. cit.*, 40 *ff.* The inscriptions are on slabs under the colossi. A fragment in the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican is noted by C. Bezold, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, 1886, 229, cf. K. Bädeker, *Central Italy*, 1904, 361. There is a close agreement, often verbal, between the Bull and the Cylinder Inscriptions. Quoted as C.

[28] Seven inscriptions on slabs of gold, silver, copper, lead, alabaster, limestone (or tin(?)) and on the chest itself. For a discussion of the materials, cf. F. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, 1887, 50. The chest and two slabs were lost in the Tigris accident. The others published by Oppert in Place, *op. cit.*, 303 *ff.*; and in *Dour Sarkayan*, 23 *ff.*; Lyon, *op. cit.*, 20 *ff.*; Winckler, *op. cit.*, II. pl. 37 *ff.* Translated by Oppert, *l. c.*, and in *Records of the Past*,[1] XI. 31 *ff.*; Lyon, *op. cit.*, 48 *ff.* In general, it belongs to the group of minor inscriptions.

[29] Published by Botta, *op. cit.*, pl. 1 *ff.*; Winckler, *op. cit.*, II. pl. 37 *ff.* Translated by Ménant, *op. cit.*, 195 *ff.*; Winckler, *op. cit.*, 136 *ff.* It is found on the pavements of nineteen gateways. There are five recensions of which IV found in nine gates is the longest and most important. Quoted as P.

[30] Published by Botta, *op. cit.*, pl. 164 *ff.*; Winckler, *op. cit.*, II. pl. 40. Translated by Ménant, *op. cit.*, 196 *ff.*; Winckler, *op. cit.*, 164 *ff.* It is the short display inscription placed on the backs of the slabs so that, even if they fell away from the walls, the name and titles of Sargon could still be seen.

[31] Cf. chap. IV. n. 43.

[32] Cf. n. 13 with n. 12. There are over a dozen such instances according to Winckler, *Ins. Sarg.*, 11.

been incorporated one after the other.[33] The greatest value of the Annals lies in its chronology, for indeed without it we would have no solid basis for the dating of many events of the reign and no general chronology at all. Yet a careful examination of its chronological data gives an unsatisfactory impression. Under the year 710, for example, we have a brief account of the events from the accession of Merodach Baladan,[34] while at the end of the same year we have the account of the "seizing the hands of Bel," which logically closes the Babylonian campaign, but really belongs to the following year.[35] The section dealing with 716, as already seen, clearly contains the records of more than one year.[36] The frontier wars were evidently chronic, yet they are forced into the chronological scheme. Nor does the scheme agree with what we find elsewhere. It is difficult to acknowledge that the scribes of Sargon, near the close of his reign, did not know or did not care to know the real succession of affairs. The putting together of the Prism fragments has perhaps given a new point of view. In the earlier years, the date is one year earlier than that of the Annals, in the later, two years. It is simply inconceivable that in 707 the scribes did not know whether the Ashdod revolt took place four or six years before. There are two distinct systems here, one in the Annals and one in the Prism B, both probably artificial to a considerable extent. Which is more probable and to how great a degree either is true is a difficult question, but a study of the whole chronology seems to indicate that that of Prism B should

[33] A. 93–94 = 99–100; 264–271 = 271–277; 278–281 = 281–284; cf. Winckler, *Sargon*, XXXIV.

[34] A. 228 *ff.*

[35] A. 309 *ff.*

[36] A. 52 *ff.* Cf. discussion, chap. V.

be more trusted, and this seems to be borne out by a comparison of the two. It is difficult to explain the system of the Annals from that of the Prism, but the reverse is easy. It looks a little as if there had been a break in the series of campaigns,—the Assyrian Chronicle has for one year "in the land," that is, no expedition,—and that later the scribes had padded out these gaps with the events of other more crowded years.[87] A most glaring example of the inaccuracy of the Annals is in its dating the battle of Dur ilu in 721, whereas not only the Babylonian Chronicle, but also an official inscription of Sargon of very early date assign it to 720. Again we ask: Why was this transfer and what really happened in 721? Was that year taken up with putting down revolts?[88] The chronology of the Assyrian Chronicle belongs to a group of its own, but so far as its data can be brought into relation to the others, it rather supports that of the Prism.[89] But, however we may distrust the artificial scheme of the Annals, we must acknowledge that the others may also have an artificial character while, as the only full and complete system, it must still be retained for at least relative chronology in so far as an artificial system cannot be detected. A very inferior version of the Annals is that of Hall XIV, which omits much and abandons the chronological order.

If the Annals had been completely preserved, there would be little use for the Display Inscription, but the former is so badly mutilated that the frequently literal quotation by the latter is often our only source. But the accounts are much abbreviated and are arranged in geographical rather than in chronological order, although chronology does play some part within these sections. Failure to understand this

[87] See n. 42.

[88] Cf. chap. III. n. 8.

[89] Cf. n. 45.

arrangement has led to sad mistakes, an example of which is the time-honored error which places an Arabian tribute immediately after the battle of Rapihu, merely because the two are closely connected in this inscription.[40]

The minor inscriptions of this group give but little that is new. There is no chronological arrangement and their variant readings, though interesting to the philologist and topographer, have but little for the historian. The Cylinders seem to be the earliest as they are the most important. In fact, so close is the agreement in places with the deed of gift document of 714 that we may postulate an earlier date for this, perhaps soon after the conquest of Babylon. For the building of Dur Sharrukin, it is our best authority and may perhaps be a source for the accounts of the others, while it is often of value for other phases of the culture life. The Larnaka stele is of interest, because it is the identical stone Sargon sent to Cyprus, as we are informed in the other inscriptions. Its text is comparatively short, but in type it agrees rather with the large than the small ones. Sometimes it gives a more likely account, as when we have the version of the subjection of Cyprus intended for the Cypriotes themselves, or the fuller account of Hamath. Its date is about the same as that of the Dur Sharrukin group, to which it belongs in spite of its distant location.[41]

[40] In D. 27 the tribute of Piru follows D. 26 where Hanunu of Gaza appears. These events have been placed together by E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*,[1] 1872, 285; *ib.*,[2] 1883, 297; L. B. Paton, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, 1901, 247; G. S. Goodspeed, *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, 1902, 249. But this a clear case of error, for D. 27 is identical with A. 97 which is, of course, under 715.

[41] The Cyprus stele was first noted in 1845 by L. Ross, *Reisen nach Kos*, 1852, 87 n. 6. It had been discovered while digging a cellar in an otherwise unexcavated region on the west outskirts of the Mariana, or

A second group would contain the inscriptions of the two Prisms. Prism A has been fairly well studied. It gives us the well-known Ashdod revolt, the list of Median princes, and a Dalta episode. Prism B has remained largely unnoticed. The fragments have now been arranged, and large parts of four out of eight columns recovered. The results are in general disappointingly meager in all but one direction. This is the chronology which, however artificial, seems, as already noted, to be more nearly correct than that of the Annals. The two prisms, though not identical, are quite similar. They are of Annal type, though entirely unrelated to the Annals. They seem earlier than the Dur Sharrukin group, though they cannot be much older. They appear to come from Nineveh, where Sargon would seem to have resided prior to his occupation of his new capital.[42]

port of Larnaka. For location, cf. the map by Dozon in *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, 1881 *ff.*, I. 1. 35. The stele, a large block of basaltic stone, bearing a life-size relief of the king, was secured for the Berlin Museum by M. Mattei, Prussian Consul in Cyprus. Reported by Mas Latrie, *Arch. des Missions scientifiques*, I. 112 and pl. 3, quoted *Comptes Rendus* of the French Academy, 1899, 716. H. Rawlinson recognized the figure as that of the founder of Khorsabad and took a squeeze, *Athenaeum*, 1850, No. 1166. Lepsius noted the mention of Bittaeans in Menander, J. Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*,[2] 1857, 144 *ff.* Cf. also I. H. Hall, *Proceedings of N. Y. University Convocation*, 1876, 107, and L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 1878, 47, for further details of the discovery. Published III. R. 11 and more fully, Schrader, *Abhandlungen* of Berlin Academy, 1881 and separately, *Die Sargonstele*, 1882; by Winckler, *op. cit.*, II. pl. 46 *f.* Translations by G. Smith, *Zeitschr. f. Aegypt. Sprache*, 1871, 68; Ménant, *Annales*, 206 *ff.*; Schrader, *op. cit.*; Winckler, *op. cit.*, I. 174 *ff.* The date is year III of Sargon, King of Babylon = year XV as king of Assyria = 707. The affinity is rather with the large than with the small inscriptions. Quoted as S. In I. 51 *ff.* it adds a fair amount of new information about Hamath. In I. 46 *ff.* the battle with Rusash is placed after the capture of Muçaçir, which is perhaps correct.

[42] The greater number of the fragments of Prisms A. and B. have been published by Winckler, *Sargon*, II. pl. 43 *ff.* There is no doubt as to

Another group is that containing the more strictly chron-

the order of the fragments of Prism A., for they actually join. Of the three legible sections, one, that relating to the Medes, has been translated by G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*,[6] 1876, 288 *f.* and by Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte*, 1889, 118 *ff.*; another, relating to the Ashdod expedition, by G. Smith, *op. cit.*, 289 *ff.* and by Winckler, *Sargon*, 187 *ff.*; the third, relating to Dalta is still untranslated but may be used. The fragments are K. 1668 b + DT. b.

Prism B. is almost identical with Prism A. in size and character of writing. The fragments are K. 1668 a + 1671, 1668, 1672, 1673, 8536 (the *unnumerirt* of Winckler's plate) S. 2021, 2022, 2050, 79–7–8, 14. K. 4818 which is also given by Winckler clearly does not belong here and may be excluded. K. 1668a has already been joined to 1671 and a beautifully clear though minute photograph of these is given by C. J. Ball, *Light from the East*, 1889, 185. The other fragments are still unjoined and practically undeciphered. Bezold, *Zeitchr. f. Assyr.*, 1889, 411, n.[1] has pointed out that S. 2049, Rm. 292, and 82–5–22, 8 belong to the same prism but they are still unpublished.

The first necessity is decipherment. When enough has been made out to assign each fragment its subject, an attempt at arrangement may be made. As a result of my attempts, I believe that I have secured large parts of four columns from the eight originally existing. The following is my arrangement:

I begin my first column, which really must have been preceded by one or more columns giving titles, introduction, and the earliest events of the reign, with Col. I of K. 1672 where we have references to Samalla and Hamath. Winckler, who has studied this fragment, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, II. 71 *ff.*, thinks that this belongs probably to 711, but long before I had any hope of piecing the prism together, it had seemed to me that the whole general tenor allowed only 720, or year II. If now we look for a fragment continuing the same subject, we have it in Col. I of 79–7–8, 14, Winckler, *Mitth. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1898, 1, 53, where we have references to Muçri and to Martu, or Syria, references which we naturally connect with the intrigues of Sibu of Egypt. The second part of this column deals with Urartu and the Mannai which would then be the Rusash troubles which began, as it would seem, in 719 or year III. We would then be inclined to place next Col. I of S. 2021, since we have a reference to Ursa or Rusash, and that our assigning of this Col. I to year III is not far wrong is proved by the fact that Col. II of S. 2021 is actually dated in year V, so that the upper part of this column must be year IV. These first columns of these three fragments are all that we can assign to the first column of the Prism. Comparison

ological documents. The so-called Eponym Canon gives with the other columns shows that, at the least, thirty-five lines from the lower part of the column have been lost. For Col. II of the Prism, we have, if our arrangement of Col. I is correct, Col. II of K. 1672, of 79-7-8, 14, and of S. 2021. Unfortunately, the first two are too mutilated to discover what country they belong to, and the same is true of the part in S. 2021 above the line. Below that, we have a new year, year V, when an expedition was made against Ashur liu. In consequence, all above the line must be year IV, or earlier. But more curious is the fact that the Ashur liu expedition is in year V, not year VI, as in the Annals. By this time, the Prism has fallen one year behind the Annals, and this peculiarity we shall find to the end. We naturally expect something else in this same year VI of the Annals = year V of the Prism, and we find it in K. 1669, with its references to Kishesim whose name was changed to Kar Adar, to the Madai, and to Kimirra. To be sure, the last place is not mentioned in the Annals until year VII, but the general locality is the same. Below the line and therefore in year VI is a section I cannot identify. But to this same year VI must be referred K. 8536, since the references to Ursa and Que agree well enough with the Que of Annals year VII. This ends Col. II of the Prism which must have had at least seventy-five lines. For the first part of Col. III of the Prism, we have A., B., C., of Winckler's arrangement of K. 1671 + 1668. What A. deals with is not clear. B. and C. relate to Haldia and Ursa, that is, to the events of year VIII of the Annals. Making the correction of one year, our year VII fits in well. After this, we should probably place Col. I of S. 2022 where a joint may perhaps be made. Here a land whose name begins with I. may perhaps be in the Mannai region. This must be in the year VIII, for on Col. II of this fragment we have year IX. This ends Col. III of the Prism. At the beginning of Col. IV we place, though doubtfully, K. 1673 with its mention of Aragi, perhaps Median. At any rate, we can hardly deny to this D., E., F., of K. 1671 + 1668. We should naturally expect here events of year VIII or year IX of the Annals, and this we certainly have. D. and E. deal with Amitashshi of Karalla and with Itti of Allabria, and then below the line, with Dalta of Elli. So far all is well, and we must place this in the year VIII (IX). When we come to add to this column Col. II of S. 2022, we find ourselves in trouble; for the first half of this is given to Mita and Ambaris who are placed in year X in the Annals, yet, below the line, we have year IX for the Ashbod expedition which is year XI according to the Annals. In these last cases, then, we have slipped back two years beyond the Annals dates. What does this mean? Does this mean that some

us the list of eponyms or *limmu*,[43] and this bare list of names now begins to be amplified by the dated commercial documents.[44] More important are two fragments which add to the name and office of the eponym some sort of a historical

years were spent "in the land" with no military expeditions, as the Chronicle Fragment Rm. 2, 97 seems to indicate, and were the events which actually happened extended to fill up the blank years? At any rate, we know how untrustworthy the official chronology is. This ends the fourth column and assigns a place to all the published fragments. As the prism was eight-sided, four are still missing. One of these would be taken up with the introduction. Then would probably come our four. The last three columns would be taken up with the events after the Ashdod expedition. This, even with accounts of building operations, would probably end the prism about the time of the fall of Babylon. We can hardly place their date much later than 709, for the whole group of official inscriptions from 707–706 are closely connected in style, etc., while they are as sharply differentiated from the Prisms. As these fragments are in the Kuyunjik collection, it is to be presumed that they came from Nineveh. If so, they probably date from the time before Sargon had moved into Dur Sharrukin. Note that the deed of gift of 714 is given at Nineveh. To make clear my plan of arrangement, I subjoin the following synopsis:

Col. I.	Col. II.	Col. III.	Col. IV.
	K. 1672.		*K. 1673.*
Hamath (II)	X (IV)		Aragi (VIII)
	79–7–8, 14.	*K. 1671 + 1668.*	
Martu (II)		X (VII)	Karalla (VIII)
Urartu (III)	X (IV)	Urartu (VII)	Karalla (VIII)
	S. 2021.	Urartu (VII)	Elli (VIII)
Urartu (III)	X (IV)		Allabria (VIII)
	Karalla (V)		*S. 2022.*
	K. 1669	Urartu? (VII)	Bit Buritash (VIII)
	Kishesim (V)		Ashdod (IX)
	X (VI)		
	K. 8536.		
	Que (VI)		

[43] Published III. R. 1; better in F. Delitzsch, *Assyriche Lesestücke*,[3] 1878, 87 *ff.*

[44] A complete list of the eponym dates with the authorities may be seen in C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 1898, I. 562 *ff.*

statement. One belongs to the so-called Assyrian Chronicle and covers practically the whole reign. The chronological clue has now fortunately been discovered, and it can now be utilized. The date is entirely a matter of conjecture, and its sources cannot be found in any inscriptions known to us. Its tendencies seem to be priestly, but its chronology agrees fairly well with Prism B, and it seems quite reliable.[45] The

[45] The fragment of an "Assyrian Chronicle," Rm. 2, 97, was published by C. Bezold, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1889, 287 and pl. III a. Sayce utilized it in *Records of the Past*,[2] II. 126 *f.* He omitted l. 1–4 and in several cases made two lines refer to one year. To him, our fragment was only a variant of II. R. 69, which however is a chronicle of a sort unique as yet. Winckler translated and transliterated it in *Keilinschr. Bibl.*, III. 2. 144 *ff.* In general, this is more accurate, but strangely enough he has omitted l. 4 which throws out of gear his whole later chronology. Barta, in Harper, *Assyr. Bab. Literature*, 215, has also given a translation with l. 4 in its proper place.

The first error made by all these is in not seeing what Bezold had already pointed out, the fact that it belongs to the type of the real Assyrian Chronicle, and that therefore one line and no more must be assigned to each year. Bearing this in mind, we may utilize the clue given by Sayce when he takes the *ri* of l. 15 to be the end of *Kirruri*. In l. 14–18, we have to the left of the text a vertical line and to the left of this, on each of the five lines, a single character. If this fragment really belongs to the Assyrian Chronicle class, then there can be no doubt that this first column contained the eponym for the year together with the place he was governor of. In 707, as II. R. 69 shows, Sha Ashur dubbu of the city of Tush-ha-an was eponym. Here then belongs the *an* of l. 16. In l. 15, the *ri* is clearly the last part of *Kirruri* of which Shamash upahhir was eponym and in 708. In 710, Mannuki Ashur li'u was eponym of Tile. As we might expect, the *a* of this line is only the last half of the *e*. For 706, we have Mutakkil Ashur of Guzana. Here Bezold reads *tu* which is probably a misreading of *za-na*, one stroke of the *za* being lost and the *na* having the form common in the letters. For 705, Upahhir Bel of Amedi, the *ur* is probably a misreading for *di*. This order of eponyms, Tile, Kirruri, Tushhan, Guzana, Amedi, is to be found in the Chronicle under 766–762 and 730–726, and for the last three in II. R. 69. Let us now go through our fragment year by year to see if this scheme will work out. In l. 1, *kar*]*ru* should be read. *Karru* is an obscure word; whether it means a destroying

other is not very different from this type, but its exact parallel is still to be found. Each year from 708 to 704 has several lines devoted to historical data. It has close

preparatory to rebuilding or actually the rebuilding itself, is still uncertain. It already occurs in the Chronicle under 788. The year here would be 722. In 721, l. 2, Winckler restores *e]tarab.* Read *ilu X ana beti eshshi e]tarab,* "the god X entered a new house," cf. the Chronicle under 787. 722–21 therefore correspond to 788–87. L. 3, 720 is *ba-la.* What this may mean has thus far baffled me. For l. 4, 719, read *ushshu sha bit Ner]gal karru,* "the foundations of the house of Nergal were rebuilt," cf. the Chronicle under 789 according to Delitzsch, *Beitr. Assyr.,* I. 616. This was probably the Nergal temple at Kutha, for there is no account later of its capture by Sargon. L. 5, 718, is not to be read *Iranz]u Mannai,* "Iranzu of the Mannai," for the name of an enemy never occurs in the Chronicle. The half destroyed sign before Mannu is rather with Sayce to be taken as *alu,* "city," though I confess I know only *matu* and *amelu* used before it. The events here referred to are given in A. under 716. L. 6, 717, is *pehuti shaknu,* "governors appointed," and refers either to a settlement consequent upon the fall of Carchemish or to the Mannai troubles. L. 7, 716, reads *ſ-di* (*alu*) *Muçaçir Haldia.* The first sign can hardly be *a.* Haldia has no determinative, and whether god or people is not evident. The next line, 715, has *rabute,* "the nobles," followed by *ina* (*matu*) *Ellipa,* "into the land of Elli," a reference to the events of A. 83 *ff.* L. 9, 714, should be read (*ilu*) *X ana bet]i eshshi etarab,* "the god X entered a new house," the complement to l. 4 as l. 2 is to l. 1. L. 10, 713, *ana]* (*alu*) *Muçaçir,* is the expedition not mentioned in the Annals, cf. Belck and Lehmann, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.,* 1899, 102, and the chapter on the Armenian wars. For 712, we read *ina mati,* "in the land." This is interesting, as the Annals has expeditions for each year. For 711, we have *ana* (*alu*) *Markasa,* which agrees with the facts known from other sources for that year. Under 710, *ana Bit Zirna'id, sharru ina Kesh bedi,* "to Bit Zirna'id, the king was distant in Kesh," if, with Muss Arnolt, we take *bedi* from a root well known to every traveller in Syria, must of course refer to the campaign against Babylon in that year, while the next line, *Sharrukin qata Beli iççabat,* "Sargon seized the hands of Bel," as clearly refers to what took place at the beginning of 709. (*Alu*) *Kumuha kashid,* (*amelu*) *pehu shakin,* "Qummuh captured, a governor established" must be placed under 708. The first part refers to events properly dated in the Annals. Whether the second part refers to the same or to Babylonia is uncertain. The second is more probable.

affinities with the Babylonian Chronicle, but seems in at least one case not to have so well repeated its tradition. It has no relationship with the first fragment. Though probably late, it used good sources and seems trustworthy.[46]

The fourth group consists of the early inscriptions. The Nimrud inscription comes from Kalhu, the early capital of Sargon. Its date is about 716. Unfortunately it is brief, and is not in chronological order. Some new facts are to be gleaned, such as the conquest of Iaudu and the capture of Carchemish.[47] A brief fragment from year six has little

Under 707, *sharru ishtu Babili issuhra,* we have the return from Babylon at the end of that year on the news of the Cimmerian invasion, for which see chapter VIII. The next two years refer to Dur Iakin, but just what they indicate is obscure. The first, 706, reads, *sha* (*alu*) *Dur Iakin naça,* "he of Dur Iakin went out," the other, 705, (*alu*) *Dur Iakin nabil,* "Dur Iakin was destroyed." Under 704, we have *ana bitatishunu etarbu,* which we must take, with Winckler, "the gods of Shumer and Akkad] to their houses returned." For 703, *rabut]e ina Karalli* "the nobles into Karalla." This seems to refer to Sennacherib, *Prism,* I. 63–II. 7, in his second expedition, for the conquered tribes are annexed to the province of Arapha. The last line, under 702, is *mahra,* "former." What it refers to I do not know.

While this fragment clearly belongs to the same class as the Assyrian Chronicle, it does not seem to be related to any of the known documents dealing with Sargon's reign. It therefore has the value of an independent witness. Its chronology seems to agree with that of Prism B. where the two touch, and on the basis of these two I have built my chronological scheme. The large part devoted to religious buildings seems to indicate priestly leaning, if not priestly authorship. The author seems to have been an Assyrian, not a Babylonian, nevertheless. As to his date, we only know that the fragment closes at 702.

[46] II. R. 69 d = K. 4446. A good translation in Schrader, *Keilinschr. Bibl.,* I. 215. Several changes have been made by the author. For these, see the pertinent sections of the text.

[47] Published by A. H. Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character,* 1851, pl. 33 *f.*; Winckler, *Sargon,* II. pl. 48, D. G. Lyon, *Assyrian Manual,* 1884, 9*ff.* Translated by Winckler, *Sargon,* I. 169 *ff.*; Peiser, *Keilinschr. Bibl.,* II. 34 *ff.* Quoted as N. The large part in it played by Pisiris of Gargamish shows that its date must be placed soon after his capture.

value,[48] but the one from year two (720) is extremely important not only for its chronology but for the vivid light it casts on the causes of Sargon's accession.[49] A few other fragments are known but are either unpublished or of little importance.[50] No affinities have been found within this group.

We may conclude our survey of the official material by mentioning the labels on the sculptures, the bricks, the inscribed fragments of pottery and of glass, and the minor building inscriptions.[51] In some periods, all this would have great value, but so full are our sources that we rarely need their help, though the building inscriptions add to the culture history and the labels enable us to utilize the beautiful basreliefs which have a real historic value.

Such, then, are the official documents the king of Assyria wished to hand down to posterity. Edited though they are, a careful study may often secure the truth. Yet were we confined to these alone, our knowledge would be very one-sided, as indeed it is even now. Fortunately, we have other

E. Schrader, *Die Sargonstele*, 1882, 8n.[1], makes the Karalla expedition (716) the limiting datum. But A. 78 under 715 corresponds with N. 9 where the restoring of disordered Man is mentioned. Still, much of this Man section may be placed earlier, so the question is still unsettled.

[48] K. 1660, published Winckler, *Sammlung*, II. 4.

[49] K. 1349, published Winckler, *Sammlung*, II, 1893, 1, translated *Forsch.*, I. 401 *ff.*

[50] K. 221 + 2669; K. 3149 with references to Urartu; K. 3150, references to Harran; K. 4455, mention of . . . shum ishkum son of Ninib . . .; and to Urartu; K. 4463 published Winckler, *Sammlung*, II. 6; K. 4471, references to Urartu, Nar Marrati, Kaldu, published Winckler, *Sammlung*, II. 4; D. T. 310; 83-1-18, 215, references to Labdudi, Hanban, Sirra, Amana. The unpublished fragments are known from C. Bezold, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection*, 1889 *ff.*

[51] Grouped together by Winckler as *Kleine Inschriften, Sargon*, II. pl. 49 and I. 190 *ff.* Further bibliography may be found under the second reference.

data. For we have, almost in its entirety, the contents of the Nineveh archive chambers, and much of the material goes back to the days of Sargon. Of the documents there found, the most important are the letters and reports. Many are from commanders in the field and throw a new light on the strategy of the times, on the foreign relations, and even on the culture life of the neighboring peoples. Others deal with domestic affairs, reports, favorable or unfavorable omens, state the health of the royal family, or merely pay their respects to their lord. Valuable as these are, it is not easy to localize them. Dates are rare; the same name may belong to more than one person; a connection with known events is difficult to find. To make matters worse, they have been until recently sadly neglected, and in consequence are still hardly out of the decipherment stage. A large number have been given in the collection of Harper,[52] but others which seem from the catalogue to belong to our period are still unpublished. Of those published, a minority have been really studied. One group, those dealing with the events of the last few years on the northern frontier, have been already isolated and a fairly complete account can be

[52] The great corpus of Assyrian letters is being made by R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, 1892 *ff*. Reference will be made to other publications, translations, etc., as each letter is cited. The collection is quoted as H. When I began this work, I had the impression, which is perhaps still somewhat current, that the number of letters to be assigned to this reign was small and I hoped to be able to work them all out, taking the letters already studied as a basis. It was not long before I recognized the difficulty and soon the impossibility of my task. I have of course utilized all those which have been translated or transliterated and a partial quotation or even bare reference has induced me to attempt letters thus far unstudied. In addition, I have stumbled upon certain others which have seemed worth further study. In too many cases, this has shown that the events referred to did not belong to the reign or could not be definitely located. Often an one line reference has meant hours of work. No doubt I have made mistakes.

gained from these alone.[53] Here and there a reference may be made to a letter, but full study from the historical standpoint must be preceded by full study by the philologist. Yet, little as they have yet been used, their use has materially changed our account in places.

These letters were not the only documents preserved in the Nineveh archives, for in them were preserved all sorts of written material after that peculiarly oriental fashion which knows no distinction between public and private, when the ruler is concerned. Even the literary texts, mostly philological or religious in character, which formed the so-called library, seem really to have been a part of this general collection. Of purely private documents there was no lack. Every business transaction, no matter how simple, must have its written voucher. Through these, the whole political, religious, social, and economic life of the people is laid bare before us. To what an extent this collection of data can be utilized for our period, the chapter on the culture history will show.[54]

Thus far we have been discussing only the sources which give us the Assyrian point of view. We are fortunate in having records, few as they are, from the surrounding nations, Babylonia, Haldia, Judæa, and by these we can check the ones already noted.

Merodach Baladan, in spite of his long reign, prepared no war annals or, if he did, they have not come down to us.

A score is considered enough for a philologist to study for a doctoral thesis, if it is to be done well. I have worked through some two hundred. A further difficulty is the fact that mutilated letters, though often of great value, are generally neglected. When a larger number is made more accessible, I hope to return to the historical phases of the study.

[53] Cf. chap. VIII. n. 5.

[54] The great collection of C. H. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, has superseded, so far as our period is concerned, all preceding publications. Quoted as J.

The only historical document we have is the Babylonian Chronicle.[55] This is a fine piece of work. The author is indeed a patriotic Babylonian. But he seems to have no more bias in favor of the Chaldaean Merodach Baladan than he has for the Assyrian Sargon. In his opinion, no doubt, one was as much a foreigner and a barbarian as the other. This impartiality seems to be proved where we can test it. The date is late, perhaps in the Persian period, but he clearly used good sources.

Equally valuable is the boundary stone[56] which gives the text of a charter by which Merodach Baladan granted a plot of ground to one of his favorites. In it he gives an exposition of his land policy. If he says that he honored the gods, we can hardly cite Sargon to the contrary, nor, if we accept Sargon's testimony to the oppression of a pro-Assyrian party by his Chaldaean rival, must we forget that the latter makes exactly the same charges against the party which held Babylonia before his arrival? Aside from these, we have only a few commercial documents of the usual sort. There are other sources which, though now in Greek dress, actually seem to go back to cuneiform originals. Berossus has a very uncertain reference to Merodach Baladan;[57] there are references to that ruler and to a siege of Tyre which may possibly be attributed to Sargon;[58] while Ptolemy, in his Almagest, furnishes us with a list of Babylonian kings

[55] Best published in F. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*,[4] 1900, 137 *ff.* A good translation by A. Barta, *Assyr. Babyl. Lit.*, 200 *ff.*

[56] Published by F. Delitzsch, *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, II. 258 *ff.* Translated by Delitzsch, *l. c.*; Peiser and Winckler, *Keilinschr. Bibl.*, III. 185 *ff.*; R. F. Harper, *Assyr. Bab. Lit.*, 64 *ff.* Johns, *Deeds*, II. 232 would place this much earlier since archaic metrology is used, but this hardly will stand in the face of the way the data fit into our general situation.

[57] Berossus, Fragment 13 = Jos. *Ant.* X. 2. 2.

[58] Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schöne, I. 27, 35. But see chap. IV. n. 62.

and further strengthens the chronology by the mention of three eclipses.[59]

The other inscriptional sources are few. The Haldian ones, so numerous at an earlier time, are now but a bare half dozen in number. We have building inscriptions of Rusash[60] and Argishtish II[61] as well as the Rusash inscription at Lake Gokcha[62] to show the extent of the empire. Of real importance is the Topsana stele,[63] which sheds so much light on the truthfulness of Sargon's scribes. As for the Hittite inscriptions, we may still doubt if they have been really deciphered, and even if they have, the actual gain is small, while the knowledge that our Itamara the Sabaean may be one of the Yatha'amars of the Sabaean inscriptions, is no great advance.[64]

Owing to their inclusion as a part of our sacred literature, the study of the Hebrew documents is one of peculiar difficulty. Those who hold the older and more conservative views have ascribed large portions of the book of Isaiah to this reign, while more radical critics have done likewise with those sections they still allow to that prophet. Be it as it

[59] Ptolemy, *Almagest*, IV. 5.

[60] The Rusahina building inscription of Keshish Göll, published with an elaborate study of the work and of its remains, W. Belck, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, 1892, 151 *f.*, cf. 141 *ff.*; Sayce, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1893, 18, No. LXXIX. Lehmann, No. 127 in *Sitzungsberichte* of Berlin Academy, 1900, 624. The Teishbash inscription of Van, published in transliteration by Lehmann, *l. c.*, No. 126.

[61] The Arjish inscriptions describing the building of reservoirs for the Argishtish city, Lehmann, *l. c.*, No. 130, 131.

[62] The rock inscription at Aluchalu on the south shore of the Gokcha Sea, Sayce, *op. cit.*, 1894, 713 *ff.*, No. LV. The conquest of kings of twenty-three lands and the carrying of the people to Van is boasted of. At this spot, a Teishbash temple was erected.

[63] Discussed by Lehmann, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, 1899, 99 *ff.*; cf. also Lehmann, *Sitzungsberichte, l. c.*, No. 128.

[64] See more fully under the study of Arabian affairs.

may in regard to the Isaianic character of these oracles, repeated readings with this end in view have left me unable to locate with any assurance a single one in Sargon's reign.

Although the heading of the twentieth chapter of Isaiah refers to the Ashdod expedition, we are not justified in accordingly attributing the oracle itself to this date, as will be clear to any student of prophetical headings. On the other hand, the heading itself, whatever the date of its insertion, does reveal knowledge of the actual facts. We have here an excellent illustration of the fact that a very late insertion may nevertheless go back to a good early source.

The reference in the tenth chapter[65] to the capture of Calno and Carchemish, Hamath and Arpad, Samaria and Damascus, clearly belongs to our reign. But the Greek read a different text, and it may perhaps be suspected that here, too, we have a later form based on early information. Of the same type and period are the historical references in the Assyrian speeches of Kings. Although attributed to Sennacherib, they really fit better the situation in the time of Sargon.[66]

The account of the end of Samaria in its two parallel forms[67] belongs at least in part to this reign. The basis of this seems to be a contemporary or nearly contemporary account and, brief as it is, seems thoroughly accurate. As I have already shown,[68] we must accept its most important statement, that it was Shalmaneser and not Sargon who took Samaria. The embassy of Merodach Baladan has always been a troublesome chronological difficulty.[69] The

[64] II Kings 20^{12} *ff*; 39^{1} *ff*.
[65] Isaiah 10^{9}.
[66] II Kings 18^{34}; 19^{13}.
[67] II Kings 17^{1-6}; 18^{9-12}
[68] *Amer. Journal of Semitic Languages*, 1905, 179 *ff*.

great objection to placing it in Sargon's reign is the fact that the current chronology would not permit Hezekiah to be placed so far back. But this chronology is purely artificial and can hardly count. On the other hand, the time Merodach Baladan had under Sennacherib was too small and his position too precarious to seduce Hezekiah, whereas it would be most natural for that prince to unite with the Chaldaean who had just won the battle at Dur ilu against the Assyrian who had already, or rather his predecessor, put an end to the northern kingdom and was already threatening his own. Perhaps, too, the account of Hezekiah's Philistine wars[70] may be connected with the Ashdod revolt in 711 rather than with the Ekron troubles of 701.[71]

It is with these materials that we must reconstruct the history of Western Asia in the time of Sargon. As must always be the case in the history of the past, there are many deplorable gaps which we would gladly have filled. Yet, when we consider the lapse of time, we must admit that there is a remarkably large amount of material with which to attempt this reconstruction. For the space of time, barely sixteen years, and the extent of country, a good part of Western Asia, we may challenge comparison with many a period of classical or even mediaeval history. And there are few periods of history, ancient or mediaeval, which furnish so fine an opportunity for the exercise of the historian's art as does this corner of the "sometime realm of archæology."

[70] II Kings 18^8.

[71] In general, it may be said that there is little contact between Assyria and Judah in this reign and I have therefore reduced discussion of Biblical questions to a minimum. It is only fair to state that during the present year an elaborate study of *Kings* has been carried on in the Semitic Seminary and that I hope later to publish some of my results.

CHAPTER II

ACCESSION

Sargon the Younger, the man who formed the central object of one of the most brilliant periods of ancient Oriental history, might well boast himself a self-made man, for in spite of his boasts of the three hundred and fifty kings who ruled Assyria before him[1] and of his mention of the kings his fathers,[2] it is certain that he was not of the blood royal. What his real ancestry was we do not know. He himself keeps a discreet silence on the subject. His son, Sennacherib, secured a splendid ancestry, for he claimed descent from the old mythical heroes, Gilgamish, Eabani, Humbaba, and the like.[3] This was evidently felt to be going too far, for Esarhaddon already as crown prince[4] gives the more modest genealogy which became standard.[5] According to this, Sargon was a scion of the old half mythical house of Bel ibni, son of Adasi.[6]

[1] C. 45; B. 43; note the use of *malki*, "princes." Cf. also the use of "Kings my fathers" by the usurper Tiglath Pileser, *Annals* 19.

[2] C. 48.

[3] Johns, *Deeds*, III. 413.

[4] K. 13733 published by Winckler, *Forsch.*, II. 23.

[5] *Negub Tunnel Ins.*, 5, Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux*, 1895, 82; 81–6–7, 209, G. Barton, *Proc. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, 1891, CXXX; K. 2801 + K. 3053 + D. T. 252; A. H. 82–7–14 unnumbered. These have been quoted by G. Smith, *Zeitschr. f. Aegypt. Sprache*, 1869, 93 *ff.*, and by Winckler, *Sargon*, XIII. n.[1] and *Hebraica*, IV. 52 *f.*

[6] In the early days of Assyriological study, the genealogy was accepted without protest. The untrustworthy character has been recognized by Winckler, *Hebraica*, *l. c.*, and others. To my mind, there can be no doubt that it is made of whole cloth. G. Rawlinson, *Five Ancient Monarchies*,[4] 1879, II. 145 points out that, while Nabunaid frequently

As we do not know his family, so we do not know his real name. On his accession he assumed that of Sharrukin, better known to us, from its Biblical form, as Sargon. The reason for this is clear. Three thousand years before[7] there had ruled in Agade a mighty monarch, Shargani by name, whose power and wealth were still evidenced by the inscriptions in the temples he had erected. Originally the name seems to have meant "A god has established him as king."[8] A later age had forgotten this meaning, and it had,

mentions his father though but a noble, Sargon does not, and suspects that he was not even of good family. To this we can hardly say, with Tiele, *Gesch.*, 254, that Sennacherib never mentions his father, for he actually does so in K. 4730. Possible conjectures are those of F. Hommel, *Gesch. Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 1885, 679, that we may see his father's name in the Habigal, the dynasty name of the Babylonian royal lists, of Tiele, *op. cit.*, 256, that he was a son of Ashur nirari, and of G. Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, 1900, 221, that he could actually trace royal ancestors on the distaff side, since the daughters of the king no doubt married into the noble houses. The facts do not agree with the suggestion of Hommel, *Gesch.*, 680, that Babylonian origin is demanded by his Babylonian name. That he was born before 745, Tiele, *op. cit.*, 256, is quite probable, but it is extremely unlikely that he was seventy years old when he became king, as Oppert, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1871, 7110, Winckler, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, 1887, 392, may be right in making the descent from an old King of Ashur a compliment to that city.

[7] Of course the date of Nabunaid is not exact and may be a century or so out of the way. But I believe that it is approximately correct. That there is a gap may well be due only to our lack of material.

[8] Sargon of Agade calls himself in his own inscriptions Shargani, e. g., *Keilinschr. Bibl.*, III. 1. 100. In the Assyrian tablets, on the other hand, the form usual with his namesake is given. This is one of the signs for *sharru*, "king," plus GI.NA or DU = *ukin*, rarely u-kin. For a few selected forms, cf. J. N. Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, 1886, *sub voce*. A person named Sharrukinu occurs in Darius 20–3–6, Strassmaier, *l. c.* The name occurs as Sargon in Isaiah 20^1, as Sargon in Symmachus, and as Sargon in Aquila and Theodotion. The Arna of the Septuagint seems an early error, aleady in the time of Jerome, *in Isaiam, ad loc.*, for Arka which must then of course be connected with the Arkeanos of the Canon of Ptolemy which itself is but

by a process of folk etymology, come to mean "The established king."[9] It was in this latter sense that the usurper assumed it, and by the plays upon it in his own records showed to the world his well-established rule.[10]

Shargani thus became a sort of patron saint to his namesake. He did not, it is true, claim descent from him. But we do see a sort of a Sargon renaissance, a renewed interest in everything touching the older monarch. For instance, there had come down a great astronomical treatise, the "Illumination of Bel," which was ascribed to Shargani. This was introduced into Assyria and frequently copied in this and succeeding reigns. To the same influence must no

arku, "the later," "the second." This last expression does not seem to be used to distinguish him from Shargani in his own inscriptions, but that it was used in his lifetime is proved by the dated documents given in III. R. 2. It is interesting, in this connection, to notice that Ptolemy evidently derived his information about Babylon through Egyptian sources, as the names of the months show, while the Septuagint of course was made under Egyptian influence. Why should the tradition current in Egypt have used *arku* instead of Sargon's own proper name? De-Saulcy, quoted Oppert, *Ins. Assyr.*, 2 first identified Arkeanos with Sargon. The best discussion of the name is still that by Schrader, *Assyrisch-Babylonische Keilinschriften*, 1872, 158 *ff.* Peiser, *Mitth. Vorderas. Gesellsch.*, 1900, 2, 50, explains the numerical play on his name in C. 65 by suggesting that his full name, which, as it stands, is certainly incomplete, was Ashur shar ukin. For the various speculations as to who Sargon was, made prior to the decipherment of the inscriptions, cf. E. Riehm, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1868, 158 *ff.* For the long accepted identity of Sargon and Shalmaneser, cf. F. Vigouroux, *La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes*,[5] 1889, IV. 137 *ff.* For the literature elicited by the proposal of A. H. Sayce, *Bab. and Orient. Record*, II. 18 *ff.*, to identify Sargon with king Yareb of Hos. 5^{13}, 10^{6}, cf. Maspero, *Empires*, 222 n.

[9] Oppert, *Ins. Sarg.*, 8.

[10] C. 50; on the basis of this text, Lyon, *Sargon*, X, and Tiele, *Gesch.*, 255, take the name to mean the "true, righteous king" while Winckler, *Sargon*, XV explains it as "The King has set in order" referring it to the evident desire of the king to show himself the restorer of the old order of affairs.

doubt be ascribed the well-known archaism in art and in religion, the care for Babylonia, perhaps even the foundation of a new Dur Sharrukin in imitation of the earlier one which had borne Shargani's name.[11]

Perhaps the most artistic and interesting result was the production of the Sargon legends, which, in all probability, had long floated about in popular story and were now retouched for the glory of the usurper king. Of this literature, two specimens have come down to us. One is an omen tablet which reports the deeds done by Sargon or his son Naram Sin under such and such a sign of the heavens, how three years were spent in the land of the setting sun, how the sea of the setting sun was crossed and his image erected, how Kastubilla of Kaçala was defeated and the land of Surri, and how a great city was built in his honor.[12]

But if this is, after all, only a dry astrological text, the other is one of the gems of Assyrian literature. The story has often been told of how his father he did not know and his mother, a woman of low degree, bore him in secret, how, like the little Moses, the infant was placed in an ark of rushes and entrusted to the water, how the water carried him to the irrigator Akki who reared him and made him a gardener until the goddess Ishtar came to love him and gave him rule over the black-headed folk and granted him victories over Dilmun and Dur ilu.[13]

Beautiful as all this is, it is so clearly legendary that we cannot wonder that the earlier scholars were inclined to make him an entirely mythical personage. Even though

[11] So we may gather from the Michau Stone, I. 14 and from the appearance of the name in the list II. R. 50, I. 26; the reference to a Dur Sharrukin in *Bab. Chron.*, III. 46 is to the same place according to Winckler, in Helmolt, *History of the World*, III. 1903, 102.

[12] IV. R. 34; translated *Keilinschr. Bibl.* III. 1. 102 *ff.* and often.

[13] III. R. 4, 7; translated *Keilinschr. Bibl.* III. 1. 100 *ff.* and often.

we now know that Shargani actually lived and was a great ruler, we have no more right to assume that these legends tell the truth than we have to describe the policy of Theodoric the Ostrogoth on the basis of the romantic adventures of Dietrich of Berne. Knowing how legends grow up, we should be inclined to suspect the account even if nearly contemporary. How much more so when it is separated from its subject by perhaps as long an interval as that which separates us from Sargon himself. The tablet of omens comes from the library of Ashur bani pal and bears his mark,[14] while the legend tablet dates from the eighth century.[15] But still closer is the internal evidence. Both Sargon the Younger and the hero of these legends are alike in having no royal ancestors. Both warred in Elam, and in Syria, and at Dur ilu, and conquered Tilmun. Both crossed the sea of the setting sun and both erected a stele in Cyprus. The legendary hero refers to "my successor" (*arku*),[16] and sure enough *arku*, "the second," is so common a title of Sargon, that, in the form of Arkeanos, it has come down as his name in the Greek-Babylonian list of Ptolemy.[17] All this points clearly to our time as the date of fabrication.[18]

[14] The actual name of the king is lost, but the formula is clearly that of Ashur bani pal, cf. Hommel, *Gesch.*, 301.

[15] So. G. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 1894, 597; Rogers, *History*, 362.

[16] Legend 20; *Arku* frequently occurs as "later" but with names, only, so far as I know, with Sargon.

[17] Cf. n. 8.

[18] G. Smith, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, I. 47 = *Records of the Past*,[1] V. 57 had already noted the fact that this is "clearly the text of an usurper" and had pointed out the connection of name and city with the younger Sargon to whom he ascribed the preservation of the legends. H. F. Talbot, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, I. 271 = *Records of the Past*,[1] V. 2, suggested that it might have been copied from a statue and this has been accepted as a fact by following writers. The most important of the reasons for not believing in an early date for these legends, were set

What was the character of the man who, on the death of Shalmaneser IV on the 22d of Tebet (December 28), 722 B. C., came to the throne?[19] As compared with the characters in classical or in mediæval Arabic history, it is difficult to understand the personalities of the Assyrian rulers. Yet the attempt may be made, for, in spite of the tendency to conform every such ruler to a majestic, impersonal type of the Assyrian rule itself, we can see a strong personality here. And certainly strength of character must have been one of the most important facts in the man who could usurp the throne, hold it so well, extend its boundaries, and develop it internally, and then hand it on to such men as his successors. With strength we often associate coarseness and ferocity. Judged by the standards of our own day, Sargon was horribly cruel. Judged by those of his own, he was as far from the barbarity of Ashur naçir pal as he was from the comparative weakness of Esar haddon. And for his cruelty he had his excuse. The Assyrian empire was still in a precarious condition; indeed, it never again was really safe, and firmness was absolutely needful. If it was necessary for state reasons to flay a man alive, Sargon probably had no compunctions. That he was not merely a bloodthirsty tyrant there is plenty of evidence to show. After conquest he organized territory. If the administrative system dates to Tiglath Pileser III or even earlier, he at least carried out those designs, and so deserves the credit for a fair amount of political sagacity.

forth by Hommel, *Gesch.*, 305. Maspero, *Dawn*, 599 has gone further, rightly, in my opinion.

[19] The *Bab. Chron.*, I. 29 *ff.* merely states that Shalmaneser died in Tebet and then that Sargon ascended the throne on the twenty-second of the same month. There is, however, no reason here to assume, with *Oppert, art. Sargon, La Grande Encyclopédie*, that Shalmaneser died on the first and that there was an interregnum.

Since he gained the throne by the aid of the religious party, we naturally expect to see something of a religious type in his nature. This may have been only affectation, but it more probably was genuine. The simple soldier who owed his throne to priestly aid was certainly grateful. How great an influence the priestly party gained in his reign may be surmised by the reaction against it in the reign of his son Sennacherib. To how great an extent Sargon was really cultivated we may only conjecture. There were great building enterprises, there was sculpture of a high type, there was much literature produced. But all this was merely to glorify the king, and we may doubt if the soldier cared much for art for art's sake.

Thus, as we attempt to find individual characteristics, we have a sense of failure. Even his sculptured portrait is of little value, for it gives us only the conventional king.[20]

The many conjectures previously made as to the way Sargon came to the throne[21] are now rendered useless by the discovery of a bit of clay.[22] From this we learn that Shalmaneser had committed the unheard-of sacrilege of laying tribute on the old sacred city of Ashur,[23] the cradle of Assyrian power. Harran, too, the capital of that great Mesopotamian kingdom which was united with Assyria in a sort of personal union, was in the same evil case.[24] The

[20] Sargon and his wazir occur on the slab, Botta, *Ninive*, I. 12, also in Maspero, *Empires*, 217. Cf. also the royal figure on the tile facing of the harem walls at Dur Sharrukin, Place, *Ninive*, pl. 27, which seems to me to be an authentic picture. The broad lips, pronounced nose, large ears, and thick neck seem to show a certain coarseness, but he certainly has a good forehead. The Cyprus stele also gives a conventionalized portrait.

[21] These have now only a historical interest, cf. n. 8.

[22] K. 1349, published by Winckler, *Sammlung*, II. 1; translated *Forsch.*, I. 403 *ff.*

[23] 27–33.

[24] Cf. n. 27.

god, Ashur, became angry, overthrew Shalmaneser, and presented the crown to Sargon.[25] Translated into plain English, Sargon took advantage of the insult thus offered to the pride and the pocket-book of the great cities, and, with the aid of the priesthood, secured the throne. They had their reward. During the whole reign the priestly party was high in power, and a wave of religious reaction swept over at least the palace circle,[26] while Ashur and Harran were once more given their old privileges and governed directly by the crown.[27]

[25] 34 *f.* Ashur was freed from tribute and silver tablets set up. The closing threat of revolution to whomsoever changes the place of this work clearly refers to a future king, Winckler, *op. cit.*, 406.

[26] See under religion in chapter on culture history.

[27] The statements in regard to Ashur and Harran exist in two somewhat different recensions. The one, XIV. 5, D. 10–12, P. V. 9–11, states that the freedom from taxation (*sakut*) of Ashur and Harran which had long been forgotten and their constitution (*kidinnutu*) which had fallen into abeyance, were restored. The other, P. IV. 9–13, B. 8–10, and, with inserted clause, Rp. 5, 7, 8; C. 5–6; Br. 9–10, 13–15, calls Sargon the "restorer of the constitution of Ashur which had fallen into abeyance, who over Harran has protection extended, and as the man (*çab*, probably in the feudal sense) of the gods Anu and Dagan, inscribed their freedom." How this freedom worked may be seen from K. 5466 = H. 99, cf. Johns, *Deeds*, II. 174, where Tab çil esharra, governor of the city of Ashur, complains that ever since the king freed the city, the *ilqu* or feudal service of that place has been rendered useless to him. He now wishes to repair the palace but is unable and sends to the king. From K. 1349, we see that the city of Ashur had suffered under Shalmaneser but was restored by Sargon, and the same no doubt, was true of Harran. Mez, *Gesch. Stadt Harran*, 1892, 28 *f.* followed by Cheyne, *art. Haran, Ency. Bibl.*, suggests that these privileges were granted by Shalmaneser II and were then taken away after the insurrection of 763. It is far more probable that they were a survival of those it enjoyed as capital of the old Mesopotamian kingdom, Johns, *Assyr. Doomsday Book*, 1901, 7, and that one of the indignities inflicted upon it was the placing of an Assyrian governor in direct control of it. The religious reaction for a time secured its privileges, but when the military party once more gained control under Sennacherib, we find,

Yet, in spite of his religious tendencies, Sargon was a great warrior, and indeed the greater part of his recorded history consists of a series of wars. No doubt there were pressing questions of home policy, perhaps even there were revolts, though we hear of none. But, as is always clear to a usurper, the best way of settling questions of legitimacy is by leading the nation to victory in foreign wars. Nor was it mere lust of conquest or needs of home policy which kept the armies of Sargon in the field year after year. During the half century of Assyrian weakness new powers had come into being, and now Assyria was surrounded by a ring of hostile states, any one of which was not an enemy to be despised, while a union such as afterwards brought about the fall of the empire was even now an imminent peril.

On the south border little was to be feared from the Babylonians, who had been rendered unwarlike by their long civilization. But here as elsewhere there had been a gradual inworking of Arab tribes of whom the Kaldu or Chaldaeans were the most important.[28] Under Babylonian influence they had gained a certain veneer of civilization. Their leader was now a certain Merodach Baladan (Marduk aplu iddin),[29] whose name shows his Babylonian leanings. Al-

in 685, a governor of Harran, 80–7–19, 53 = J. 274. But Johns, *l. c.*, is clearly wrong when he states that "it was the constitution of Ashur and Harran that Sargon extended to the northern cities of Babylonia," for in Rp. 1–10 on which he seems to rely, the order is badly muddled and can not be used as a basis for argument. Reference to the longer and better accounts gives a more original order. Under no circumstances may we take the reference in in Rp. 5, 7, 8 to be to the cities in 3.

[28] For the Aramaean invasions cf., *e. g.*, Winckler, in Helmolt, *History of the World*, III. 21 *f.*

[29] Isaiah 39^1 is correct in calling him Merodach Baladan. The form Berodach Baladan of II Kings 20^{12} is a mere textual error. In the Ptolemaic Canon, he is called Mardokempades. Berossus seems to be the authority for the passage of Alexander Polyhistor quoted by

ready, in 731, he had come into contact with Tiglath Pileser and had been forced to pay tribute.[80] During the weaker reign of Shalmaneser he had extended his power from his home land in Bit Iakin,[81] in the marshes of the Tigris and Euphrates, and had won the confidence of the Babylonians. When, therefore, Sargon usurped the Assyrian throne, Merodach Baladan was in a position to grasp his opportunity. Babylon surrendered, and soon after, on the New Year's Day (April 2), 721, he "seized the hands of Bel," was recognized as the *de jure* king of the South, and took the titles of "King of Babylon" and "King of Shumer and Akkad."[82] The natives seem to have welcomed him

Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schöne, I. 27. He knows only the short second reign of Marodach Baldanus in the time of Senecheribus. I do not think he is the Babada of Berossus, Frag. 13 = Jos. *Ant.* X. 2. 2.

[80] Nimrud, *Clay Tablet*, 26.

[81] In Bit Iakin, the masculine determinative is always used before Iakin. In A. 228, 315, D. 122 Merodach Baladan is even called a son of Iakin. Whether Iakin is a historical personage, Sayce, art. *Merodach Baladan*, in Hasting's *Bible Dictionary*, is not certain but cf. the use of Omri in Bit Humri. The land is Bit Iakin, the capital Dur Iakin, see further Chap. VII. n. 53.

[82] Sargon ascended the throne in Tebet while the reign of Merodach Baladan is officially dated from Nisan. Maspero, *Empires*, 222, represents this as a period of suspense in which Babylon waited to see if Sargon would favor that city as much as his predecessors. But Sargon later showed himself very favorable to that city and there is no reason to suppose a change of attitude during that time. Furthermore, there is no mention of a revolt in the *Bab. Chron.*, cf. Winckler, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, 1887, 303. Maspero has simply failed to notice that, whatever the time he actually came to the throne, his accession would be dated from the following first of Nisan or New Year's Day when he "seized the hands of Bel" and became *de jure* king of Babylon.—According to the Babylonian king list, published *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1884, 197, Merodach Baladan was a member of the Tamdim or ninth dynasty and ruled twelve years. This would make his accession 721. The Canon of Ptolemy also gives twelve years. A further clue to the chronology is furnished by the eclipses of the moon mentioned in

as a deliverer from the Assyrian yoke, at any rate there certainly was a strong pro-Chaldaean party in the city.[33]

Merodach Baladan was supported, not only by the various Aramaean tribes but also by Humbanigash of Elam. Alliance with Elam had long been a fundamental article in the policy of Babylonia. In earlier times that country had had a long and important career, often at the expense of Babylon. Of late it had been much weakened, the history becomes obscure, and even the succession of kings is lost. A new era began with the accession of Humbanigash in 742 B. C.[34] The earlier years of his reign seem to have been spent in reducing to order the feudal princes who so regularly weakened the country. There was peace with Assyria, for a long line of Aramaic buffer states protected Elam from her more powerful neighbor. But Tiglath Pileser conquered and incorporated these states, while he also obtained personal rule in Babylon. This brought Elam into great danger. The Chaldaean conquest of Babylon must greatly weaken Assyria and protect a considerable stretch of Elamitish border from Assyrian attack. We can therefore see why Humbanigash preferred to fight his battles for Elam on the plains of Babylonia.

The situation in regard to Elam was further complicated by the Median tribes which were gradually working their

Ptolemy's *Almagest,* IV. 5. They are said to have taken place on the 29/30 of Thoth of the first year and the 18/19 Thoth and 15/16 Phamenoth of the second of Mardokempades. According to F. Ginzel, *Sitzungsber.* of Vienna Academy, 1884 (89), II. 537 and E. v. Haerdtl, *Denkschriften* of the same, 1885 (49), 194, they are to be assigned to March 19, 720, and March 8 and September 1, 719, these astronomical dates being, of course, one year later than those commonly in use.— For the titles of Merodach Baladan, see the boundary inscription.

[33] This is shown by the references in the boundary inscription to the sufferings of the pro-Chaldæan party at the hands of the Assyrians.

[34] Bab. Chron. I. 9.

way in from the east, and, like the Aramaeans, were warring against Elam and Assyria alike. As yet, the danger was not serious. A force was constantly engaged on the borders and now and then we hear of the conquest of some petty tribe. Already Iranian and Aramaean were meeting at the Zab, as Hun and Saracen later met in Central Europe.

Reaching in a great arc from northeast to northwest were the provinces and dependencies of the empire which, in the half century of Assyrian decline, had become the most powerful in Western Asia. Coming down from the region of the Caucasus, the Haldians had gradually forced their way south until, in the reign of Ashur naçir pal, they had come into touch with the Assyrians. For a time they were held in check, but as Assyria began to decline, Haldia won and held the supremacy of the civilized world under the vigorous rule of Menuash and Argishtish I. When the Assyrian power once more revived under Tiglath Pileser III, Sardurish II, the successor of Argishtish, held all of Armenia, Western Mesopotamia, Western Asia Minor, and North Syria more or less completely under his control.[85] To be sure, all this extent of territory was rather imposing than effective, for time enough had not been allowed for a real amalgamation, yet the pro-Haldian party was strong and a severe struggle was needed to drive Sardurish out of Syria. Tiglath Pileser followed this up with an invasion of Haldia itself but, although the capital, Tushpa, was taken and burned, Sardurish held out on the high isolated rock which forms the citadel of Van, and the Assyrians were forced to retreat as winter came on.[86]

[85] The Sardurish of inscriptions 1–3 of Belck and Lehmann is clearly the Seduri of the account of Shalmaneser II. I have therefore counted the opponent of Tiglath Pileser as Sardurish II.

[86] For a general sketch of Haldian history, and a bibliography, see the *New International Encyclopædia*, art. *Chaldians*. I have used the form,

When a new ruler, Rusash, son of Sardurish, or Ursa, as Sargon calls him, ascended the throne, some time about 725,[37] the imperial position of Haldia had been largely lost. The new monarch, as events quickly showed, was well adapted to restore the lost prestige of his people. His first care seems to have been the restoration of the ruined city. The older town, Menuahina, founded by Menuash, the greatest of the Haldian builders, had been completely destroyed. Rusash rebuilt it, not on the old site, but further north where we now have Toprak Kaleh, and called it Rusahina. Since the water of Lake Van is not potable, he constructed, far to the east among the barren and desert wastes, where his inscription has been found, an immense reservoir, now known as Keshish Göll, or Priests' Sea.[38] At Van[39] and at Aluchalu, on Lake Gokcha,[40] temples were also erected to Teishbash, the storm and air god.

Haldia, derived from the god Haldish in preference to the Assyrian form Urartu, the Hebrew Ararat. In the official inscriptions, Urartu is always spelled phonetically but in the letters is given as Urṭu (ki), the same sign being used as for Akkad, Brünnow 7309. The use of Urte in the Haldian inscription, Sayce LXXXII, seems to show that Urartu was a foreign word and was only later applied to the Haldians. For the survival of the Haldians as Chaldoi or Chaldaioi in Greek and Byzantine literature see an article by the author, *Amer. Jour. Sem. Lit.*, 1901, Rost, *Mittheil. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1897, 2, 74, compares the Uaṛutha of Ptol. V. 12. 5.

[37] Sargon's scribes call him Ursa and this name has hitherto been used by scholars. In A. 58, 75 he is called Rusa and this agrees with the native form Rusash. Brosset, *Melanges Asiatiques*, 7, 397 n.[15] identifies Rusash with the Hratchea of later Armenian tradition, Moses Chorenensis, I. 22 = p. 103 of the Venice, 1827 edition. It might be objected that he is there made a contemporary of Nabugodonosor (Nebuchadnezzar); but when later we are told that he is twenty-four years before Senekerim (Sennacherib), we have his time well enough indicated to make the suggestion very plausible.

[38] For the inscription, see chap. I. n. 58.

[39] The Teishbash Van inscription, see chap. I. n. 58.

[40] See chap. I. n. 60.

The accession of a new and more vigorous ruler naturally meant a more vigorous foreign policy. Scanty as our sources are, we are still not left in entire ignorance of conditions along the frontier. At Aluchalu, on Lake Gokcha, and therefore well within present Russian territory, we have an inscription.[41] Its very position shows a considerable advance to be probable. It also mentions twenty-four countries which had been conquered, although the vagueness of our present geography gives us little clue to their location,[42] whose inhabitants were carried off to Haldia. On the east, a similar advance seems to be demanded by the sovereignty of Muçaçir. On the west, however, where the earlier kings had ruled as far as Melitene,[43] the boundary had been drawn back, for at this time that place was ruled by an independent prince.[44] From the circumstances presupposed by Sargon's frontier fortifications, we must assume that the Euphrates was here the boundary.[45] On the south was the greatest danger. Here the line ran a perilously short distance south of the capital, which was thus exposed to raiding. But in this matter of raiding the Haldians had the advantage, for it was easy for a band of the mountaineers to rush down upon some undefended spot in Assyria, while the heavier

[41] Cf. n. 40.

[42] These are Adahumish, Uelidash, Kumeruhish, Shiriquqinish, Lainish, Ubimesh, Shamatuaish, Teriuisaish, Risuaish, Zuaish, Akuash, Amanaish, Irquimaish, Elaish, Ereltuaish, Aidamaniush, Guriash, Alzirash, Piruaish, Melaish, Usheduish, Atezaish, Eriaish, Azamerunis. Shiriquqinish is also mentioned on Sayce LXXXII. According to Sayce, *Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 1882, 399, Zuaish is Yazlu tash near Melasgert; but he is doubtful as to whether the Zuaish mentioned here is the same place. Guriaish, or, as it is here in the accusative, Guriaini, at once makes us think of Guriana of the epistolary literature and of the classical Guraina, cf. chap. IV. n. 42.

[43] Argishtish I, Annals, II. 18.

[44] A. 183, etc.

[45] Cf. chap. IV. n. 44.

armies of the latter would be under considerable difficulties, if a return expedition was undertaken. Regular military expeditions in this region were few and brief. The Haldians had only to retire to their fortresses and allow the enemy to ravage as he pleased, then, when the early winter forced him to retreat, they issued forth, blocked the passes, harrassed the rear, and often inflicted great damage.

The influence of Rusash must not be confined to the region he ruled. With Merodach Baladan, with whom he may have been allied,[46] he was the cause of almost every war of the reign. Could these two be put out of the way, the remaining conquests would not be difficult.

Back of the Haldians and no doubt already exerting pressure on them, were other Iranian tribes. As yet, they seem to have been unknown to the Assyrians. By the end of the reign they would be known only too well. Had the Assyrians realized that in attacking and destroying the neighboring states they were but putting out of the way buffer states whose loss would expose themselves to attack, they might have hesitated. More probably it would not have changed conditions.

On the northwest frontier there was little danger, but much inducement. Only one object blocked the way. Carchemish, a fragment of the old "Hittite"[47] power, held the way to Syria and to Asia Minor and dominated the trade route to the west. Mercantile as well as political reasons were therefore demanding the removal of this eyesore to the Assyrian merchants. Once Carchemish passed, there remained only petty Hittite states to conquer. The way was open to a re-conquest of those Asia Minor possessions held

[46] Professor N. Schmidt has long held this view.

[47] Whatever one may think of the "Hittite Empire," "Hittite" is a convenient name to apply to this fairly homogeneous group of peoples.

in the earlier days of Assyrian greatness, to Pteria, the great Hittite city, perhaps to the Black Sea itself. Of the power which, under Midas of Phrygia, was rapidly conquering Asia Minor, the Assyrians seem as yet to have known nothing.

Syria had been virtually brought under the control of Assyria by Tiglath Pileser and a large addition to the immediate territory of Assyria had been made when Shalmaneser captured Samaria and brought the Israelitish kingdom to its end. But the revolution at home had for the moment weakened Assyrian influence in this region. Affairs in Israel were still in a very unsettled condition. In Hamath and in Gaza rulers of ability seemed about to unite Syria against the Assyrians. In Judaea the young Hezekiah had but recently come to the throne.[48] His religious reformation

[48] We have no definite knowledge of the chronology of *Kings* save as we can connect it with that of foreign nations. The whole scheme is artificial, although tradition may have handed down a rough guess as to the length or shortness of the reigns. We should naturally expect that the correct lengths of the reigns might have been handed down, did not the purely artificial character of the whole system and the failure to agree with external chronology where tested forbid. If we make the corrections which such external tests demand, we have a working chronology which will do well enough; for it will not be many years out of the way, but it is not allowable to take such a chronology and assume it to be at all exact. For the reign of Hezekiah, the only certain date is 701, when Senacherib invaded Judah. According to II Kings 18^{13} this took place in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, that is, his accession was in 715. Yet three verses before, the capture of Samaria, 723, is placed in Hezekiah's sixth year, that is, his accession took place in 729. In the face of such chronology, we can only refuse to accept any part of it. We can use, to secure an approximate date for his accession, only general considerations. Uncertain as their results may be, they at least do not rest on a thoroughly artificial and unreliable chronology. The date of accession seems bound up with the question of that of Merodach Baladan's embassy, for I do not see how the fact of such an embassy can be denied. The present position of the account, at the end of the events of the reign is easily explained. A passage which closes with

looked very much like a protest against the pro-Assyrian religious policy of his father Ahaz,[49] and an embassy from Merodach Baladan had just come to him urging revolt.[50] Egypt was recovering herself under Ethiopic hegemony and had already interfered in the Samaria affair.[51] In Arabia things were in a ferment as a result of the impending change from Minaean to Sabaean overlordship,[52] while all along its borders new swarms were pouring out and pressing upon the civilized nations.[53]

Such were the circumstances of the Assyrian neighbors, and such were the problems presented to Sargon. On all sides Assyria was hard pressed by nations less civilized

peace and truth enduring all his days would naturally make a fine close. Actually, it must be placed near the beginning of the account of the reign, for no one can doubt that all that part which deals with the invasion of Sennacherib is later. But if early, why not at the very beginning, say 721? Hezekiah ascended the throne young. He at once began a religious reform which was to a certain extent anti-Assyrian and in other ways, then or later, showed his desire for independence. What more natural than that, at his own accession, the other, anti-Assyrian party should come into control, especially if, about the same time, there was a revolution in Assyria itself and if the troops which had just taken Samaria were called home. Such a feeling of unrest would be very natural at such a time and Merodach Baladan would naturally send an embassy to strengthen the anti-Assyrian party. The result, then, of all these causes, would be the revolt of 720 which, for the time, seems to have practically ended Assyrian control of Syria. A trace of this complicity of Hezekiah is probably to be seen in the Iaudu of Nimrud 8 which is mentioned just before Hamath. To place the embassy in the second reign of Merodach Baladan is difficult, for his rule was short and insecure. This combination given, though not as strong as I might wish, seems to me to meet the demands of the data to be combined better than does any other.

[49] II Kings 18^4 *ff.*

[50] II Kings 20^{12} *ff.*

[51] See a fuller discussion in the next chapter.

[52] See for a brief sketch, Winckler, in Helmolt, *History of the World*. III. 248.

[53] Cf. n. 28.

than herself. It was impossible for Assyria to hold her present frontiers, for only in a few cases were these "scientific." Only by constant advances could enemies be put out of the way, while each new advance meant a longer frontier to guard, a larger mass of unassimilated peoples within it, and a further depletion of the governing class. The task was too great for so small a people and ultimate failure was certain. Yet it was a great thing for civilization that the barbarian peoples were held back until they had more or less come under the influence of the Assyro-Babylonian culture, and that the empire endured so long as it did was due in no small measure to the hard fighting qualities of Sargon.

CHAPTER III

BABYLONIA AND SYRIA

Sargon ascended the throne at the very end of 722.[1] What he did during the first year we do not know. In all probability he was engaged in settling himself firmly on the throne and in arranging the changes he found necessary from his point of view.[2]

It was impossible for an Assyrian monarch to live in peace. Even if he wished to do so, circumstances were against him. So far as we know, the first collision with a foreign power took place in Babylonia some time in 720. Merodach Baladan, as soon as he was safe in Babylon, had sent to Humbanigash for aid, and now the Elamite was attempting to descend the Aft ab

[1] According to Haerdtl's tables, cf. chap. II, n. 32, Tebet must have begun Dec. 6 and therefore the accession date, Tebet 22 was Dec. 28. The formal first year of Sargon, beginning in Nisan, was April 2 to March 22. This is of course on the assumption that a month was intercalated at the end of the accession year.

[2] The Annals places the Merodach Baladan troubles in year I, 721, and this has generally been accepted. But K. 1349, places it in year II, 720, apparently the very year in which the inscription itself was written. The *Bab. Chron.*, I. 33 dates these events in the second of Merodach Baladan which means the same thing. Winckler, *Forsch.* I. 402 n.,[3] has therefore rightly doubted it. A further indication of the untrustworthiness of the Annals is of course the earlier and no doubt better chronology of the Prisms. L. 1 of Rm. 2, 97 (722) has *kar*]*ru*, the somewhat obscure word which probably means either the destruction preparatory to rebuilding or the restoration of a public edifice. L. 2, for 721, has *ilu X ana beti eshshi e*]*tarab*, "god X entered a new temple," the natural result of the preceding line. It is curious that we have no reference to the accession of Sargon or to his wars.

valley to join his ally. But Sargon still held Dur ilu, a strong fortress which commanded that pass.[2] When the Elamites reached the plain they found an Assyrian army drawn up to meet them. A battle took place and the Assyrians were driven from the field, although they still held Dur ilu.[4] The Assyrians retreated to the north, though not so rapidly but that they could take vengeance on the petty Aramaean tribes of the Mattisai and Tu'muna, whose pro-Assyrian sheikh had been bound and sent to Babylon.[5] But now Merodach Baladan came up with his army and united with Humbanigash, after which they ravaged the nearby parts of Assyria.[6]

A tactical victory had thus been won by the allies. The

[2] Dur ilu is Zirzir tepe at the mouth of the Aft ab valley according to A. Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 1898, 69, 97. We know that Sargon held Dur ilu in his first and his eleventh years from the so called Sargon Stone, F. E. Peiser, *Keilinschriftliche Acten Stücke*, 1889, 6 *ff.*; extracts in *Keilinschr. Bibl.*, IV. 158 *ff.* Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 112, seems to think that between these two dates Sargon lost and regained control of Dur ilu, but there is no proof, and it is hardly probable. A. 228–235, though under year XII, furnishes some information in regard to this period. A. 234 reads *iqçura tahazu*. This has been referred to a battle earlier than Dur ilu by Winckler, *Sargon*, XVI. It is also, it would appear, the basis of the statement of Billerbeck, *Susa*, 77, that a small Susian army was sent to join a Babylonian corps in driving the Assyrians from the Umliash region but was defeated in consequence of the non-arrival of their allies. This passage is better explained by Tiele, *Gesch.*, 258, and the reason for such a battle disappears.

[4] *Bab. Chron.*, I. 34 *ff.* Sargon claims the victory, A. 19; XIV. 6; N. 7; C. 17; D. 23; P. IV. 13; S. I. 27, but I have no doubt of the Babylonian account being correct. For the retention of Dur ilu, see the Sargon Stone.

[5] A. 20 *ff.*; C. 18. The Mattisai are mentioned only in C. but their connection with the Tu'muna makes it probable that they belong here. The men were settled in Syria but this does not necessarily mean Israel, as Tiele, *Gesch.*, 258. The Tu'muna occur also Sennacherib, Prism. I. 41.

[6] *Bab. Chron., l. c.*

Aft ab valley was opened and free communications with Elam secured. For twelve years no Assyrian army invaded Babylonia, and Merodach Baladan was left to his own devices. But one great mistake was made. Dur ilu was left, perhaps because, after all, the armies were too small, in the hands of the Assyrians. So long as they held it, communications between the allies were always subject to interruption, while it formed a good base for intrigues with the anti-Chaldaean party in Babylon or for actual military operations. So long as an advanced post such as this was at the very doors of Babylon, the southern question could not be considered settled.[7]

In this same year, 720,[8] Sargon was able to devote attention to the threatening state of affairs in Syria, which seems to have been completely neglected since the capture of Samaria by Shalmaneser in 723.[9] Now all Syria was

[7] Failure to follow up advantages is made by Winckler, *Sargon*, XVIII, n. 3, to be due to the intrigues of the priestly party at Babylon who were naturally in favor of Sargon. In *Gesch.*, 125 *ff.*, Winckler argues that Sargon ruled at least Kutha as he bears the title "King of the Four World Regions." But Wilcken, *Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, 1893, 482, denies the point of the title and notes that on the boundary inscription of Merodach Baladan we have a *shaku*, or mayor, of Kutha. The title may therefore have been based only on the holding of Dur ilu, Winckler, *Forsch.*, I. 97. But it is also possible that the office was only titular. At any rate, Rm. 2, 97, l. 4 (719) should be restored *ushshu sha bit Ner]gal karru*, "the foundations of the house of Nergal prepared." If this was really the great house of Nergal at Kutha which was thus restored by Sargon, then Sargon held it. It is also worthy of note that Kutha did not need to be captured in 710. The occupation of Kutha by the Assyrians would of course be dangerous in the extreme to Babylon.

[8] Both the Annals and K. 1349 agree in placing this in 720, while Prism B. seems also to fit in with this date.

[9] The question of the captor of Samaria has been discussed by the author in the *Amer. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, 1905, 179 *ff.* It was there concluded that the honor must be given to Shalmaneser. A resumé

again in revolt, the two centers being at Hamath under Iaubidi and at Gaza under Hanunu.

of the reasons there given may not be out of place. Sargon claims the conquest of Samaria for himself. But, according to his own admission, this capture took place in the *resh sharruti*, or part of his reign before his first New Year. This New Year began probably April 2, while he ascended the throne December 28, see n. 1. We thus have four months, in the worst part of the year, the rainy season. The Assyrians, as it would appear, rarely took the field in the winter and a regular expedition at this time would be very difficult. We saw something of the mud which can be found at the end of March while in Syria. Taking into consideration the somewhat untrustworthy character of the Annals and its allied documents, as well as the fact that we have no reference to any capture of Samaria in K. 1349 of year II or in the Nimrud inscription of year VI or thereabouts, the earlier documents, we may well doubt the accuracy of Sargon's statement. But to negative we may add positive evidence. II Kings 17^{1-6} is a good source, going back to practically contemporaneous records. There can be no doubt that the " king of Assyria " of verses 4–6 was intended by the author for the Shalmaneser of verse 3. There is here no reason for the Hebrew writer not telling the truth, for it mattered nothing to him, or to the fame of his people, if Shalmaneser rather than Sargon took Samaria. Then either he made a mistake, which is hardly likely, or he told the truth. Further confirmation is found in the *Babylonian Chronicle*, I. 28, where the only event of Shalmaneser's reign is the capture of a certain Shamara'in. So far as the Babylonian Chronicle is concerned, this only gives us *727* and *722* as limits. But these can be reduced by reference to the Assyrian Chronicle. The expedition cannot have taken place in *727* for the *ana*, " to [the land X]" comes before the account of Shalmaneser's accession. This is confirmed by *Bab. Chron.*, I. 24, where we learn that he reigned only the three winter months of *727*. Winckler, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyr.*, 1892, 233, is thus incorrect in placing the fall of Shamarain in this year. Nor can we place it in *726*, as does Maspero, *Empires*, 212, for *Assyr. Chron.* reads for that year *ina mati*, " in the land," which means that there was no expedition that year. *722* is likewise excluded, for Rm. 2, 97 reads for the year *kar]ru* which refers only to building operations. We have thus left only *725–23*. When we find that for these three years and only these three years, we have expeditions mentioned, when we remember that the siege of Samaria lasted three years, and when we note that the *Bab. Chron.* knew only the capture of Shamarain for this reign, we are forced to assume that this triangular coincidence cannot be an accident, and that each refers to the same event.

In earlier times Hamath had been of great importance as the most southerly of the great Hittite cities.[10] In the reign of Tiglath Pileser, it was definitely brought under Assyrian control, though not yet made a province.[11] The constant presence of Assyrian troops in Syria during the last days of Shalmaneser must have kept it quiet, and so it was probably in the usurpation of Sargon that Iaubidi saw the opportunity for a like usurpation of his own. According to the testimony of his name, he was of the newer Aramaean

The identification of Shamarain and Samaria was first made by Delitzsch, *Lit. Central Blatt,* Sept. 17, 1887, 38, 1290 and is still defended by him, *Assyr. Lesestücke,*[4] 1900 *sub voce.* Paul Haupt, *Proc. Amer. Orient Soc.,* 1887, CCLX, has accepted it and has shown that there are no phonetic laws to prevent it, Winckler, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.,* II. 351, to the contrary notwithstanding. Halévy, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.,* II. 402 and often, reads Shabarain and equates with the Sibrain of Ezek. 47^{16} which he makes also the Biblical Sepharvaim and the modern Shomerieh. But there is no real reason for reading *ba* for *ma,* while reference to Sibrain is unjustifiable. Ezekiel 40–48 is very late and the text is so corrupt in 47^{16} that no definite places can be depended upon, cf. the Septuagint. Winckler, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr., l. c.,* objects that the author of the *Bab. Chron.* could hardly have been interested in the capture of far away Samaria. But, even if the author did not live in a time when Syria was under Babylonian control, was not Shalmaneser at the time of the capture King of Babylon by the grace of Bel? And was not Merodach Baladan interested a few years later with affairs in Judah? Or was Shomerieh better known at Babylon than Samaria? To sum up, for the capture of Samaria by Sargon, we have only his own claim, made in a late series of documents which have often been proved incorrect. Against it, we have the silence of his own earlier accounts with the direct ascription of the capture by Shalmaneser by two authorities, widely separated and unprejudiced, while a third, a native Assyrian one, gives data which fit well into the scheme. It will, therefore, not be difficult to assume that Samaria was taken by Shalmaneser in 723.

[10] The cuneiform form of the Biblical Hamath varies between Hammatu and Amattu. The name still lingered into Greek times as Amathe, Jos. *Ant.,* I. 6. 2 although partially supplanted by the Seleucid Epiphania. It is now called Hama. We visited it July, 1904.

[11] Annals, 152. Enilu was ruler at the time.

stock which was now supplanting the older Hittite; though that this gives a proof that the Hebrew Yahweh was worshiped in Hamath is not certain.[12] While Iaubidi was the nominal leader of the revolt, we must see the real instigator no doubt in Rusash, the Haldian, whose influence in North Syria must still have been strong.[13] Of the other cities engaged, Arpad had but recently been the great center of Haldian influence in Syria and had been taken only after a three years' siege.[14] Damascus had lost its independence only fifteen years before,[15] while Samaria had met the same

[12] The more common form of the name is (m il) Ia-u-bi-'-di, D. 33; N. 8; S. 53, but in C. 25; A. 23; K. 1349, 16 we have (m) I-lu-bi-'-di. Since Schrader, *Keilinschriften und A. T.*,[1] 4, some connection with the Hebrew Yahweh has been postulated and a worship of that deity assumed for N. Syria, cf., *e. g.*, G. A. Barton, *Semitic Origins*, 1902, 284 n. M. Jastrow, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, 1895, *222 ff.*, has attacked this identification with Yahweh; according to him, the Assyrian form represents an original Ilu yubidi and he compares the use of El with the imperfect in Hebrew names. The two variant forms would then be a correct imperfect and a learned assimilation of the scribe. But a comparison of the names given by Johns, *Doomsday Book*, 40, Zerba'idi, Zerba'di, Sagil bi'di, Auba'di, Adadi bi'di, Atar bi'[di], Ilu ba[di], Hadad ba'ad, seems to show a lack of the imperfect preformative in the cases where we have a well known god. I suspect that Ilubidi is simply a (*m il*) *Ia-u-bi-'-di* with the *Ia* dropped out and the AN then read as *ilu*.

[13] Cf. the account of Haldia in chap. II. The connection frequently assumed between the revolts of Hanunu and Iaubidi is possible but not proved. How C. 19 and B. 23 is a proof of this, Tiele, *Gesch.*, 259, n. 3, I do not see. Rogers, *History*, II. 155, says that the Assyrians called Hanunu king of Hamath. This is evidently due to misunderstanding of Winckler, *Sargon*. XIX. n. 3.

[14] The Assyrian Arpadda, the modern Tell Arfad, north of Aleppo. *Assyr. Chron.*, 743–740. A little later, horses came from Arpad, 91–5–9, 136 = H. 395, a letter of Nadinu.

[15] The Assyrian Dimashqu. Visited July, 1904. In K. 542 = H. 193, Harper, *Amer. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, 1897, 13 *f.*, a letter from Naid ilu, and therefore from our reign (cf. K. 665 where the mentions Sharru emur anni, eponym of 712). Shimpia, the Qupashi official of Damascus, is sent to the king according to orders. It may be that Shimpia was

fate but three years before.[16] Çimirra represented the Phoenician coast,[17] and Tyre too seems to have taken part in this revolt.[18] There are also indications that Bar Rekab

the head of the Damascus revolt of 720. More probably, it was in 713 (Ashdod), or even later. His first occurrence in the contract literature is 707, his last, if it is the same, in 669. We are therefore rather to place him late.

[16] Cf. n. 9.

[17] The place was known as Zamar to the Egyptians, W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 1893, 187; was Çumuru in the Amarna Letters, 38^{28}, in spite of Winckler, *Mitth. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 4, 27; the Çemari of Gen. 10^{18}, I Chron. 1^{16}; the Simyra of Greek times, Ptol. V. 14. 3. The modern Sumra, some distance inland, preserves the name. The ancient site, however, was more probably where we have now the Bedawin town of Shakka, near the mouth of the Nahr el 'Abrash. We visited the latter twice in September, 1904. Both times we contented ourselves with a distant view of Sumra. This I regret the more, as there seems to be no record of a visit by any recent traveller. The only person who seems to describe the site from actual knowledge, —the others pick out a site and then identify it with Simyra,—is Thomas Shaw, *Travels*, 1757, 269, as Mr. Wrench points out to me. Some natives from a nearby town told me that there was nothing worth seeing there. They pronounced the name Samra, the first *a* being long. K. 596 = H. 190, Delattre, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1901, 342 *ff.*, states that a certain Shepa Ashur has gone with his servants from Dur Sharrukin to Çimiri. He may have gone to become governor, or he may have gone for cedars for the new palace.

[18] C. 21. For discussion see chap IV, n. 62.—There were two Tyres, one on the mainland, the other on the island. For Egyptian times, cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, 189. Here Haven Tyre, the island city, seems to be the one to be distinguished from Tyre proper. In the Assyrian inscriptions we have somewhat the same conditions, for we find a governor of Tyre in 648, Johns, *Deeds*, II. 136, the name being changed to Kar Esar haddon. Yet Island Tyre was always independent under kings. As Palaetyrus, the name still lingered in classical times, although the statements of Strabo, XVI. 2. 24, to the effect that it was thirty stades from the island city, and of Pliny, *H. N.* V. 19 (17). 76, that it was nineteen Roman miles in circuit must apply to the scattered suburbs all along the coast. In spite, then, of certain objectors, *e. g.*, C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'Archéologie Orientale*, 1880, 74, we have a right to assume a Tyre on the mainland and near the island city. Historic probability also leads us to the same conclusion. So long as it was

of Sam'al, a state near to Arpad, forgot his allegiance to

thought that the Phoenicians had held the control of the sea for indefinite ages, the situation of Tyre on an island need not be wondered at. But now we know that Egyptian and Mycenaean fleets swept the sea to a decidedly late period, certainly to a period later by much than the settlement of Phoenicians along the seaboard. We also have traditions that the Phoenicians were immigrants who came from the east. When they first reached the seacoast, being still landsmen, and found other and hostile, or at least piratical fleets controlling the sea, they would hardly choose an exposed island for their first home. They would rather do as was done at Tiryns, Corinth, Athens, Troy, and many another site of that age, choose an acropolis near enougn to the sea for trade but far enough away and defensible enough to be safe. Both natural conditions and the meaning of the name Çor, "rock," make us look for such an acropolis in the plain opposite the island.

There is only one position which corresponds with what we demand. This is the isolated "rock" which rises abruptly from the plain about a mile and a half SE. by E. of the gate of Tyre. It was probably about two thirds of a mile from the original coast line. Tiryns, with which we may best compare it, is one and a quarter miles away from the coast, but much of this is late alluvial filling. The "rock" rises, according to Sepp, quoted *Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs,* 1881, I. 69, forty or fifty feet high, and this I think not far wrong. Tiryns is fifty-seven feet high. Sepp makes it six hundred feet in circumference. I think this is too small, and I seem to be confirmed by the Saillardot-Renan map of Tyre and vicinity. Tiryns is nearly a thousand by over three hundred feet, but this space is divided into three terraces on which are three separate citadels. Kitchener, *Survey,* 50, estimates the present population at about thirty, and with this I agree. This space is certainly small for so famous a city as Tyre. But was the earliest Tyre so very large? If Tiryns, when a flourishing Mycenaean city, could keep its main buildings on so small a site, the much less important Tyre could surely hold our situation. This rock could easily accommodate several hundred persons, and the early village would hardly have more. As the city grew, the new houses would be grouped around the rock but the people would retire to its citadel when the enemy came.

It is the usual fate of an acropolis to become the home of the gods after peace has allowed its citizens to descend to the more convenient plain. This seems to have happened in the case of old Tyre, for to-day the most prominent edifice on the rock is the shrine of the Muslim saint, Nebi Ma'shuk, and his wife, whose name, the "Beloved," would con-

Assyria,—perhaps his boasted love to Tiglath Pileser[19] did not extend to the supplanter of his dynasty,—and joined the coalition.[20]

The allies do not seem to have acted in concert,—it would

nect him with Tammuz-Adonis, the old Phoenician god, even did not another trace of his worship exist in the feast the Tyrians still celebrate in his honor, in July, the month which in antiquity bore the name of Tammuz. Sepp, *l. c.*

When the Phoenicians gained control of the sea, the inland site was found inconvenient, especially since a fine site for a port existed among the islands just off the coast. An analogous situation was faced by Athens at the close of the Persian Wars. Before that, the acropolis and the region directly around it was the city *par excellence.* After that time, Athens held control of the sea, the Piraeus was rebuilt and became of even greater importance. Themistocles, who better than any other man in antiquity understood the meaning of "sea power," made no attempt to conceal the fact that he considered the Piraeus the more important of the two and often said that, if the Athenians ever were worsted on land, they should go to the Pireaus and use that as a base for a warfare on sea. Thuc. I. 93. What Themistocles saw, but could not persuade the Athenians to do completely, the less sentimental Tyrians did. The island city became the more important, the shrines and public buildings were collected together in a situation which for more than a thousand years proved impregnable, and the old city, probably actually increased in numbers, became only a suburb. It is quite possible that this transfer of the main city to the island was caused by Hiram, for we are told that he connected the islands, built temples and the great square, Menander in Josephus.

[19] The Bar Rekab inscription, in F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli,* 1893, 79.

[20] Sam'al, which plays so large a part in earlier times, suddenly disappears. Prism B. is the only Sargon document which refers to it and the reference there must be placed in 720 cf. chap. I. n. 47. If it is allowable to connect the "my governor" of K. 1672. I. 3 with the "city Samalla" of 4, we may assume that Sam'al already had a governor, Winckler, *Forsch.,* I. 22; II. 73. At any rate, in 681 we have a governor of Sam'al as eponym. Winckler, *Keilinschr. und Alte Test.,*[3] 67 *f.* places here the reference to Iaudu in N. 8. After much hesitation, I am a little more inclined to attribute it to Judah.—Maspero, *Empires,* 283, adds Bit Agusi to the list of revolted states. I do not know his authority.

have been too much to expect of a Syrian confederation,—or perhaps Sargon was too quick for them. Iaubidi took up his position at Qarqar,[21] to the north of Hamath, to meet the advancing Assyrians. Once before, 854, the Syrians had met Assyrians on this field and had defeated them and saved Syria for the time.[22] Now they were in turn defeated, and Iaubidi fell into the hands of the victors. This was the first success of the reign, and it needed to be emphasized. A horrible punishment, only too common, was decreed for the unfortunate Iaubidi. He was carried to Assyria and flayed alive. Later, a vivid bas-relief was set up on the walls of the new capital, a warning against revolt to the

[21] For the name Qarqara Schrader, *Keilinschr. und d. Alte Test.*,[1] 84, compares the Qarqor of Jud. 8^{10} and the Karkor of Eusebius, *Onom.* But the edition of Klostermann, 116, has Karkaria as the place existing in the days of Eusebius. The actual location of Qarqar is uncertain. Maspero, *Empires*, 70, n.[4] makes it Qala'at el Mudiq, the ancient Apamea of Lebanon, Ptol. V. 14. 15.—Harper, *Code of Hammurabi*, 1904, 7, and cf. map, reads (al) IM.KI as Karkar, Code III. 61 and makes it the Syrian city. He also finds here the Syrian Aleppo. But this Hallab = ZA.RI.UNU.KI is clearly a Babylonian city, as is shown by the Hammurabi inscription, King V, and by the geographical lists where the names occur along with cities which are certainly Babylonian. Qarqar is called *al naramishu*, his "beloved city" in D. 34. This can hardly mean his capital. Possibly it means his birthplace. We should note that Qarqar is in his "country" of Hamath, *mat* being regularly used before Hamath. This use of Hamath is also frequent in the Bible, *e. g.*, Riblah is, according to II Kings 23^{33} in the land of Hamath. A hitherto unnoticed case of such use is to be seen in the expression usually translated "entrance of Hamath" which occurs in the delimination of the ideal boundaries of the Holy Land. The explanation current is not without difficulties, cf. *e. g.*, G. B. Gray, *Numbers*, 1903, 140. The Septuagint on Jud. 3^{3}, Labo Emath, gives the clue. Libo is not a verbal form but a proper noun, the Libo of the Antonine Itinerary, 198. 3, and the modern Lebweh, which we visited July, 1904.—K. 6674 = H. 225, Delattre, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1900, 269, a letter from Uhati reads "peace to the desert of the land of Hamate."

[22] Shalmaneser II, *Monolith*, II. 87 *ff.*

petty princes who brought their tribute to Dur Sharrukin.[23]

After the battle, Qarqar was taken and burned and Hamath, which seems to have lain not far off, was also captured, its low-lying position giving little opportunity for defense. Of its inhabitants many were killed, others were made captive, while the flower of the troops, two hundred charioteers and six hundred horsemen, was added to the standing army which Sargon was now forming to take the place of the old feudal levy.[24] The position of Hamath on the great road from the north to Egypt was important, as its relation to the modern railway shows. To secure it, a colony of six thousand three hundred native Assyrians was settled here, and an Assyrian governor was placed over them.[25] The site of this city is now represented, no doubt, by the big bare mound which stands in the center of the modern town, and here, if we should excavate, we should probably find not only the relics of an earlier Hittite people, but even cuneiform documents of the sort already found in the mounds of Palestine.[26]

The capture of Hamath seems to have ended the revolt

[23] Botta, *Ninive*, II. pl. 120; also in Maspero, *op. cit.*, 235.

[24] Cf. under the last chapter.

[25] A. 23 *ff.*; D. 35 *f.*; especially S.I. 51 *ff.* which here adds much new matter.

[26] In all Syria, I have not seen a mound which so struck me as worth excavating. It is a splendid big tell, in the middle of the town and at present absolutely bare. The railroad has now reached Hama, and in the growth which is likely to follow the mound will probably be covered with buildings. When we remember that already five Hittite inscriptions have been found at Hama, the outlook for results is promising. I do not think any trouble would need be feared. The accounts of the fanaticism of the people are much exaggerated. We visited without special escort and photographed the main mosque and the one where Abul feda is buried.

in the north, and the other cities submitted.[27] Then he moved south to attack Hanunu of Gaza,[28] around whom the revolt in the south centered. Gaza held one of the most important positions in the ancient world. As the last Syrian city towards Egypt on the great Syro-Egyptian trade route, and as the seaport of the Arabian caravan road, its possession was no less valuable from the commercial than from the military standpoint. This was thoroughly understood in Egypt where the holding of advance lines on Syrian soil has always been a fundamental part of the national policy. As soon as the Ethiopian rulers began to secure Lower Egypt, it was felt that an advance on Syria was to be part of the general program. Already, in the time of Tiglath Pileser, the first attempt had been made and Hanunu had been won over. The attempt failed, and Hanunu was forced to flee to Egypt. During the weaker reign of Shalmaneser he returned, deposed the Assyrian protege Idibi'il, and regained his throne. In this he was helped by a certain Sibu

[27] The sneering question, "where are the gods of Hamath and of Arpad?" II Kings 18^{34}, cf. 19^{13}, seems to refer to this event. Whatever its date, the source was good. Amos 6^{2} may be a possible interpolation of this date, Bickell, in Schrader, *Keilinschr. und d. Alte Test.*,[2] 445 n. The part of the Annals which probably told of the conquest of the minor states is lost.

[28] Hanunu is clearly the same name as Hanun king of Ammon, II Sam., 10^{1} *ff.*; II Chron. 19^{2} *ff.*; and is identical with the well-known Carthaginian Hanno. Johns, *Amer. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, 1902, 249, would apply here his rule that names in *-anu* are derived from cities and discovers a city Hana here. But it merely means "the favored one." Is it possible that we have a present-day remembrance of the old hero in the Muslim saint, Nebi Hanun, who lives at Bet Hanun, a little mud village surrounded by cactus hedges on the open plain a short distance northeast of Gaza? We visited and photographed the place in January, 1905.

The modern Ghazzeh still preserves the ancient form Ghazzat, as it occurs in the South Arabian inscription, Glaser 1083, in Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, 1895, 75. The Hebrew 'Azzeh was

who was enabled by his success in Gaza to produce the rebellion of Hoshea of Israel.[29]

Shalmaneser secured the fall of Samaria, but was put out of the way before he could attack Gaza, and Sargon now took up his work. What happened when he reached Gaza is not clear, but he seems to have fought a battle before its gates.[30] The city was captured and the allies fell back toward Egypt, perhaps toward Rhinocolura, on the "Brook" of Egypt, where a frontier post seems always to have been held. Sibu summoned his tartan, or lieutenant, to come to

also pronounced Ghazzeh, as the Greek Gaza shows. On the other hand, the Assyrians used the form Hazite, H being their usual transliteration of Ghain. The older city was undoubtedly near the present harbor or Mineh, the classical Maiuma. In spite of the steamers, there is still a brisk land trade with Egypt, and traces of Egyptian influence are much more marked than in any other part of Syria. There is no real harbor, but several tramp steamers lie off the coast to take on grain during harvest. Visited in January, 1905.

[29] The Hebrew form So is admittedly incorrect. The pointing is generally changed to Sewe. Eleven Greek MSS. quoted by Holmes and Parsons have Soba, Zoba, Somba with a *b*. The relation of these MSS. is not clear, but three seem to be Hesychian, that is, these readings go back to an Egyptian source. It is tempting to assume that this form actually goes back to some extra canonical source which knew of a Sibu, but it is perhaps more probable that in the *b* we have only a later transliteration of a *v* sound.—It *may* be only a coincidence that Sibu and Shabaka look somewhat alike, but I am not quite sure yet. The change in the sibilants would make no trouble and H. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, 1879, II. 273, followed by W. M. F. Petrie, *History of Egypt*, III. 1905, 284, believes that *ka* is a postfixed article. Steindorff, *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, I. 342, denies the force of this, pointing out that *ki* is rather the Dat.-Acc. ending. I know nothing of Nubian and therefore have no right to an opinion on this question. A more serious objection to the identification is the fact that Shabaku is actually found in Ashur bani pal. Ras. Cyl., II. 22.

[30] A. 27 has —] *kun ma*. This may be restored *Abiktushunu ashkunma*, "their destruction I accomplished," Winckler, Sargon, XIX, n. 7, or *itti Piru shar Muçuri kidra ishkunma*, "he made alliance with Piru, king of Egypt," Winckler, *Untersuch.*, 93. I prefer the former.

his aid, and the two armies met at Rapihu, where now the boundary between Egypt and Syria is marked and where later Lagidæ and Seleucidæ contested the control of Southern Syria.[31] Sibu fled "as a shepherd deprived of his flock," so Sargon boasts, and Syria knew his intrigues no more. Hanunu was less fortunate, but was captured and taken to the city of Ashur with nearly ten thousand of his men. Rapihu,[32] probably at that time only a fortified camp, was destroyed, but Gaza,[33] perhaps as a reward for treachery, was spared.[34] Under the direct control of the crown, it lasted on and flourished through Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian times until Alexander, by his destruction of Tyre, showed his hostility to Syrian commerce. Then first Gaza resisted the powers that be and met its fate.

[31] Rapihu is the Raphia where Ptolemy IV defeated Antiochus the Great in 217, Polyb. V. 82 *ff.*, cf. for a good account of the battle, J. P. Mahaffy, *Hermathena,* X, 140 *ff.* References to the mediaeval geographers who use the form Rafh, G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems,* 1890, 517. We visited the modern Tell and Bir Refah in February, 1905. The tell, which is rapidly being covered with sand, is a fine one and would merit excavation.—The Display inscription makes Sibu himself tartan. I prefer the more accurate Annals where, though mutilated, we seem to be led to take the "his" in "his tartan" to refer to Sibu.

[32] A. 27 *ff.*; D. 25 *f.*; XIV. 16 *f.*; P. IV. 38 *ff.*—A deportation of gods can hardly be assumed with Cheyne, *Expos. Times,* June, 1899, art. *Gaza. Ency. Bibl.,* from II Kings 17^{24}; 18^{34}; 19^{13}; Isaiah 37^{13}, since the emendation he proposes 'ZH (Gaza) for 'WH (Aveh), though easy, is unlikely. K. 1349 does not mention the Gaza expedition. Winckler, *Keilinschr. und d. Alte Test.*[3] 67, therefore, would not accept the date of the Annals. Prism B., however, has a passage about Muçuri and Martu (Syria) which seems to belong to year II. The statement that Hanunu was carried to Ashur may indicate that only a general was in charge.

[33] We may surmise this from later conditions.

[34] A discussion of this campaign demands a consideration of the Muçri question which, since first laid down by Winckler in his *Forschungen* and more fully in the *Mitth. Vorderasiat. Gesell.,* 1898, 1, has become what is perhaps the most vexing problem in Oriental

It is interesting to note that Sargon did not attempt to follow up his advantages and attack Egypt or even Rhinocolura. Perhaps his forces had already suffered severely, or perhaps he felt that the conquest of Egypt was impossible, until he had secured a firmer hold in Syria. For the

History. Briefly stated, the problem is as follows. Are all the references in the Bible to Miçraim and to Muçri in the Assyrian inscriptions to be assigned to Egypt, or is some other country or countries to be here considered?

The present note cannot be, and does not pretend to be, an adequate study of this question. What is here aimed at is a discussion of the Assyrian sources with special reference to the question as to the existence of a kingdom of Muçri. More general matters will be touched upon only where necessary for clearness.

One fact gives me more confidence in undertaking this work. For the last three years, the members of the Semitic Department at Cornell University have been engaged in a study of the history of the Negeb or South Country, the region to the south of Judah. Two years ago, these members went to Syria as students in the American School for Oriental Study at Jerusalem, under Professor Schmidt's directorship. Three expeditions were made to the Negeb. All the sites of any special importance were visited. During these trips, important results from an archaeological and topographical standpoint were secured, and Professor Schmidt will soon issue a work on the historical geography of that region. During these trips, the pertinent literature was taken along and studied on the spot. The discussions with Professor Schmidt and Messrs. Charles and Wrench, both then and later, have been of great value and are thankfully acknowledged, but the ideas here given are primarily the results of the author's own study in his own special field, and the others should not be held responsible for these views. Other phases will be dealt with by them later.

It should be noted that several distinct questions are here involved, and much of the confusion of thought on this subject seems due to a confusion of issues. These questions are as follows. First, were derivations from the root MÇR used as the proper names of countries or regions other than Egypt? Second, was one of these names used in connection with the Negeb, in other words, are some of the references in the Bible to Miçraim and in the Assyrian inscriptions to Muçri to be referred rather to the Negeb than to Egypt? It should be noted that an answer to this question is a matter of fact pure and simple and that an affirmative reply does not commit one to any theory as to

next few years much attention was devoted to settlement of Syrian affairs. Those cities which were not directly impli-

how the same name came to be applied to both the Negeb and to Egypt. Nor does an affirmative of necessity demand a like answer to the third question, "Does the acceptance of the term Muçri-Miçraim as applied to the Negeb likewise require the acceptance of a theory that this Negeb Muçri was a kingdom important enough to take the place of Egypt for several centuries in contemporaneous thought?"

These theories and the questions they raise cannot be brushed aside as mere foolishness, as some seem inclined to do. The men who propose them have been the leaders in showing the importance of the South Arabian civilization and its possible influence on the near-by nations, while Winckler, the original author, is more at home in Assyrian than in anything else, wide as his interests are. A fair consideration of the theories is therefore demanded. Professor Winckler makes his main claim for support on the Assyrian data. Consideration of authorities cannot influence us. If, as Professor Winckler claims, Jensen is the only Assyriologist who openly opposes the theory, there is every reason to suppose that a large and influential body of Assyriologists have not written on the subject, because they do not consider the question probable enough for discussion. The Egyptologists are, it should be noted, strongly opposed to it, as is but natural. Certainly the evidence from Egyptian sources should be considered, and it is a pity that no Egyptologist has thought the question worth a thorough discussion from his standpoint. We also notice that some of the leaders in Palestinian topography are not followers of Winckler. The small number of the authorities we would expect to be interested who actually have thought this question worthy of even unfavorable comment is enough to make us pause, however enthusiastic we may be.

To the first question, "Can the root MÇR be used as the proper name for a boundary province?" affirmative answer must be given. The noun *miçir* is common in Assyrian, compare Muss-Arnolt. A mountain Muçur was near Dur Sharrukin, *Cylinder* 44. Other references to Muçur in north Syria are possible. Is the same true of Miçraim in the Biblical writings? This is more doubtful. Leaving aside the question of the Negeb Muçri, we have I Kings 10^{28} and II Kings 7^{6} cited as proof texts for a northern Muçri. In the former, it is perfectly natural for Solomon to take horses from the Egyptians to the south of him and to sell them to the Hittites and Aramaeans to the north. To suppose, with Winckler, that he brought them,—presumably by the sea the control of which he never had,—from Que (Cilicia), and the Cappadocian Muçri, far to the north, and sold them to the

cated in the revolts were allowed to retain their autonomy under the local kings. Those which were, Samal Çimirra,

kindred Hittites and the Aramaeans, again to the north, is to suppose that trade does not follow natural lines. This line is certainly unnatural, and a reason for this should be given. Nothing in the political or social situation justifies such an idea. As for the latter, would not the terror of the Aramaeans have been all the greater, if they feared they were being caught in a trap between the armies of the south and of the north? And when could a better time for hiring Egyptian kings or princes be found than just when the dynasty which, from control of the camp of the mercenaries had gone to control of the kingdom, was breaking up, and all the petty Delta rulers were trying to follow suit.

If, however, we cannot allow a Miçraim other than the Miçraim which may be Egypt or the Negeb, perhaps we may in the case of the South Arabian references. In Gl. 1155, 1183, 1302, we have references to a Miçran which Winckler has naturally taken to be his Negeb Muçri. But can we accept this identification? In Gl. 1183, we have Miçran Ma'in, "the boundary land of Ma'in." This seems to indicate that we have to do with the name of a mark which has grown up in Minaean territory independently and therefore has no necessary, perhaps better, has no probable connection with Egyptian territory. Note that it is Miçran, not Miçr, "*the* mark" par excellence, as the use of the article shows. It is in marked contrast to this that in the late Minaean sarcophagus inscription of Gizeh, we have Miçr used of Egypt *without* the article. It would then seem that these two forms represent two independent developments. Nor do we in the Assyrian inscriptions have any form which seems to point to use of final *nun*. If this Miçran really was the boundary mark of Ma'in, we should naturally place it somewhere to the north where Minaean control seems to be proved. A good site would be the region around El Oela where Doughty found two Minaean inscriptions and which we must place near the most northern part where definite Minaean control can be assumed. At any rate, we have no right to assume that the Miçran of the South Arabian inscriptions is a Negeb Muçri, or is Egypt, without consideration of these points.

As regards the second question, an affirmative answer is again required. In many Biblical passages, as already pointed out by Winckler and Cheyne, Miçraim is used for a region to the east and north of the Isthmus of Suez and therefore outside of Egypt proper. What does this fact prove as to political history? Absolutely nothing, although it may suggest certain interesting questions. That a Miçrite

Damascus, the mainland Tyre, and Samaria, soon appear with Assyrian governors, and it is probable that this took

is an inhabitant of the Negeb does not prove that he is subject to Egypt, that his Negeb is independent, or anything of the sort. The United States government officially calls itself "American" yet there is no reason for assuming that an "American" is a citizen of the United States, is a member of an independent republic, or is not loyal to King Edward VII. Nor does the fact that an immigrant inspector returns a man as a "Turk" prove that he is not a Christian Syrian from the Lebanon. At the same time, some sort of connection of the terms at some time is rendered probable, and the fact that the adjoining countries of Egypt and the Negeb bore similar names would prove some sort of connection, even if we did not know that, at a time earlier than any of our references to a Negeb Muçri, Egypt held more or less secure control of the Negeb. We should then suppose that Egypt had caused its name to be extended over the lands conquered. But Muçri is unfortunately not the native name of Egypt and is rather a Semitic form. What then was its origin and how did it come to be used by natives of Egypt themselves? Answers that are satisfactory are not forthcoming. Any attempt to answer must note that already in the Amarna tablets the king of Egypt acknowledged the title "king of Miçri," even when communicating with the kings of Assyria and Babylonia. The antiquity of the application of the term to Egypt is therefore considerable.

But, as already stated, affirmative answers to the first two questions do not of necessity demand an affirmative answer to the third, and indeed I would return a decided negative to the question, Was there during the later Assyrian period a kingdom of Muçri in the Negeb which was not only independent but so powerful that it for some centuries took the place of Egypt as the great antagonist of Assyria in the contest for Syria? The mere supposition is difficult to make that two kingdoms of exactly similar names should exist side by side (Winckler's attempts to distinguish between Muçri and Miçri are admitted failures), one a great power which has retained its essential identity from the dawn of history to the present day and has often taken its place as one of the great world powers, the other springing suddenly out of obscurity, taking the place of the other, holding its position in the face of the greatest empire the world had yet seen, then suddenly once more disappearing into a like obscurity while as suddenly Egypt once more comes into conflict with Assyria. We are naturally prejudiced against such a theory and, as we advance, new objections appear.

The Negeb Muçri kingdom, to accept the conjectures of Winckler, lasted about as long a time and was nearly as important as the kingdom of Haldia which succeeded in holding Armenia against the constant attacks of the Assyrians. Armenia has been continuously occupied since and there has been ample opportunity for destruction of monuments, yet we have several hundred inscriptions in the Haldian language and important architectural remains. The Negeb has been a desert for at the very least half the time since the Negeb Muçri is supposed to have existed. Where are the monuments? There are, to be sure, fine ruins in the Negeb, but they are all Roman and mostly Christian at that. This is clearly proved by the late type of the archaeology and the late dates of the inscriptions. Another noticeable feature is that the towns are generally built in the plain, thus showing a period of peace. We are probably to place the full civilization of this region only in the second century A. D. Much stronger are two negative facts. One is the absence of pre-Roman pottery. At every site, we eagerly searched for such, but among the great heaps only Roman types were found. The other fact is the absence of *tells,* or artificial mounds, in the Negeb region proper. To be sure, we have a fine tell at Raphia, but this is on the direct road to Egypt and in part is surely Graeco-Roman. In the days of the kingdom of Judah, that is in the days when the Muçri kingdom is supposed to have flourished, the boundary was from Gèba to Beersheba, cf. "Dan to Beersheba." Beersheba would appear to have been the southern boundary of civilization to the Israelites and this is confirmed by the fact that, while along this border and to the north there is a good plenty of *tells,* to the south, in the Negeb proper, there is an utter absence of such mounds, the only example being an insignificant one in the Wadi el 'Ain. No doubt the Negeb was inhabited before Roman times and perhaps even settled, as the Joshua lists indicate, but a civilization which, on the broad fertile plains which make up half the Negeb could not leave *tells* or pottery deposits, may safely be assumed not to have been important enough to have taken the place of Egypt in general history for several centuries.

If strong negative objections can be gained from lack of remains of a real civilization, even stronger are those connected with historical geography. Where the topography is so all compelling as in Syria, history may be expected to, and does, repeat itself very closely. In studying the operations of the various armies, ancient and modern, one is amazed to see how alike these operations are and how the details of one account may be used to supplement the gaps of another. It is therefore evidence of no small value when we can show that, age after age, Egypt has been in the position of a fortified camp, always

open to attack most seriously on its northeast frontier and therefore always having its advanced lines as far as possible on Syrian soil. That this has always been so and is so to-day may be seen from a brief survey of Egypt's history with this one point in view.

From the time of the first dynasty, Egypt held the Sinaitic peninsula. Stress has hitherto been laid entirely on the commercial reasons for this. But it must also have its military importance in keeping back those Bedawin whose conquest is so often mentioned. With the Hyksos conquest, the danger clearly showed itself, a forerunner of the many conquests of Egypt from this side. The reaction against these Hyksos, as is well known, resulted in a sudden extension of the frontier to the Euphrates. We have no reason to suppose that this sudden advance was due entirely, or even primarily, to desire for revenge, to lust for conquest, or to hopes of gain. By this time, it must have been apparent to thinking Egyptians that Egypt proper could be protected against barbarian inroads only when a buffer on Syrian soil existed. In very truth, when once these Syrian barriers have been beaten down, generally by long patient attack, Egypt itself has been taken with a rush. How important this outer line was considered may be seen from the frantic attempts of the Ramessidae to hold it against ever increasing odds. At last, all was lost and the last important attempt to hold Syria was that of Shishak.

Now, it will be generally admitted, it is Egypt and no other power which is interfering in Syria. Under no circumstances can room be found for a Negeb Muçri, for we have the accounts of the Egyptian rulers themselves in good Egyptian. We have, then, no inscriptional proof of such a Negeb kingdom until at least after 948 or thereabouts, since Shishak was then the leading power on the south frontier. Nor do the advocates of the theory find any such proof after 674, when Esarhaddon made the first of his attacks on Egypt. All the political events, then, in which Muçri can have been concerned as a nation, must have occurred, if at all, between 948 and 674. Let us, however, for the moment, leave these centuries aside and continue our study of Egypt in Syria.

The Assyrian conquest of Egypt was temporary. As soon as they were expelled, we find the new native dynasty, not content with Egypt alone, trying to secure advanced lines in Syria. Psammetichus about 640 besieged Ascalon. Necho managed for three years, 608–605, to hold the whole country to the Euphrates. Even after his defeat by Nebuchadnezzar, he retained, if we can trust II Kings 24[7], the territory to the south of the brook of Egypt. It was on the help of Apries of Egypt that Zedekiah relied when he revolted from the Babylonians.

The conquest of Syria by the Persians naturally led to the easy con-

quest of Egypt. Conversely, when the Egyptians revolted against Persia, the first idea was to block Persian advance by implicating Syria in the revolt. Examples are the invasion of Syria by Tachos and the revolt of Sidon instigated by Nectanebo. When Sidon fell,—note again the close connection,—Artaxerxes III had no difficulty in again taking the Nile valley.

It is a commonplace among historians that, of all the generals of Alexander, Ptolemy was the wisest in that he laid aside hopes of general dominion and concentrated his energies on one definite and distinct part of the empire, there to found a kingdom. Remembering this, it is extremely interesting to see that he too saw the necessity of the Syrian barrier. So long as this barrier was held, Egypt was perfectly secure, but when Antiochus III in 198 won Palestine, the way was opened for the advance of Antiochus IV and only the intervention of Rome to preserve an artificial balance of power prevented the natural result, the conquest of Egypt, from following this loss.

We see exactly the same condition of affairs during the Crusades. The Muslims of Egypt never felt safe while Syria was in the hands of the Franks and strove, generally with success, to hold a part of Southern Syria as a barrier. On the other hand, the possession of a base in Syria, whence wealthy Egypt might be attacked, played no small part in Crusading policy. Nor is it out of place to mention the tenacity of Mamluk control of Southern Syria.

The same conditions have held good in modern times. Napoleon saw how weak was his power in Egypt when Syria was in the hands of the enemy, and failure there led in no small measure to the failure in Egypt. Muhammed Ali as clearly recognized the need of Syria to his attempt to found a dynasty in Egypt. And to-day it is the same. England in Egypt has seen this need, and the boundary is not at the Isthmus of Suez, the seemingly natural boundary, but at Raphia, five days to the northeast across the desert. The most northern garrison of Egypt to-day is at el 'Arish, the ancient Rhinocolura, on the banks of what was once the "brook of Egypt." Geographically, both Raphia and Rhinocolura belong to Syria, not Egypt, for the real desert begins to the south. I do not see how one can stand under the Egyptian flag, remember the long history which has shown the urgent need for Egypt of advanced lines in Syria, and still deny that the dry torrent bed at one's feet was called the *nahal Miçraim* because it was the frontier of that country.

Now it may be said that these facts do not absolutely disprove Winckler's theory. In a sense this is true. What has been shown is that all the indications of all the history, except that period in dispute, point to Egypt as the one great power on the southern frontier

of Syria. In other words, we have what is called in law a rebuttal presumption, a presumption which will be accepted as presumed fact unless definite evidence to the contrary is brought up. This may be stated as follows: In all periods save 948–674, the great, for any important purpose, the only intriguing power on the south Syrian frontier was Egypt. Therefore, general physical and political conditions remaining the same, approximately, we may assume that it was also Egypt which was the disturbing force in that period of less than three centuries. This is certainly a fair presumption, and we must have strong evidence to the contrary to force us to abandon it.

Such evidence can hardly be shown to be forthcoming. Such deductions as we can draw from general considerations are distinctly unfavorable to Winckler's theory. It is true that a trade route ran from South Arabia to Gaza, although it is a serious question as to how important this was as compared with the Red Sea ports. Nor has ever an important army come from Arabia along this route. It is also true that a large number of movements of tribes from South Arabia to the Syrian regions have taken place. But they have not followed the Gaza road. In the greatest of these, that of the Muslim conquest, the main army followed the Haj road to Damascus, and Antioch was taken at about the same time as Gaza. So far as we can see, all the tribal movements from South Arabia have followed the same course. It has always been easy for the Arabian invaders to follow the Haj road. It was only when they left and turned west that the advance was checked. Often there has been practically no advance, as in the case of the Ghassanidae, at other times, it has been comparatively small as with the Nabataeans. A good modern case of a tribe migrating to Syria from South Arabia is that of the Beni Sakhr. Why did they settle east of the Jordan instead of in the Negeb? Much must be attributed to the somewhat greater fertility of the East Jordan country, though the Negeb can be made again fertile by irrigation, as in Roman times. But a greater objection is the difficulty of access to the Negeb from the east. Much has been made by the geographers of the great Jordan rift and its divisive influences. After personal knowledge of both parts of the depression, I feel sure that the Arabah, the region south of the Dead Sea, is far more of a barrier with its terribly steep and rough trails. The Negeb seems to be Arabic, not as a result of the great waves of migration but as the result of a gradual infiltration. We shall naturally expect, then, that Egyptian influence will be felt strongly, if not exclusively, on the southwest, while such South Arabian influence as there may have been,—there is no proof that it was strong,—would be exerted on the southeast and so most strongly on the East Jordan country.

Let us now take up in some detail the events of the period in which Muçri of the Negeb is supposed to have played a part. It is somewhat surprising to find in the very first reign we take up, that of Ashur bani pal, no reference to Muçri of the Negeb, but plenty of references to Egypt under the same name. Why is this? Because the references to Muçri are now so detailed that identification with Muçri must be made. Many of these Muçrites are actually known to us as rulers from their own inscriptions written in Egyptian, and the greater part of the long list of localities named by Ashur bani pal can be located in the Nile valley. No theory can force us to find a Muçri of the Negeb here. This being so, let us see what we can learn of Egypt.

First as to the use of terms. Ashur bani pal twice describes the objective of the expeditions. Once, *Ras. Cyl.*, I. 53, it is against Magan and Meluhha, once I. 57, it is against Muçur and Kusi. Here Magan and Meluhha are merely the high sounding, archaistic forms of Muçur and Kusi. This use of old names to represent altered political conditions is quite characteristic of the Sargonid dynasty, compare the use of Mash, Martu, Gutium, Hashmar. Clearly, then, to Ashur bani pal, *whatever the earlier significance,* Magan stood for Muçur, and Meluhha was Kusi. The possibility of such extension or transference of names is of course one of the commonplaces of historical geography, compare, *e. g.*, Hilakku north of the Taurus, the later Cilicia south of it. But, to that ruler, Muçur meant Egypt and Kusi Ethiopia as I. *122 f.* shows. Meluhha, then, was, *at this time,* Ethiopia. It is then probable that during the half century which had elapsed since the accession of the dynasty, there had been no important change in the nomenclature. If this is true, then the reference to Muçri, a region of Ethiopia, by Sargon simply shows that he knew,—and it would be amazing if he did not,—that Ethiopians were in control of Egypt. Another significant fact it is that he received "great horses" as tribute from Egypt (Muçur). Sargon extended his boundary to the "brook of Egypt," *nahal Muçri.* He also mentions "great horses" of Muçuri, A. 440. We may feel that the earlier lack of horses in Egypt *ought* to forbid finding them there in the Sargonid period, but when we actually *do* find them, and "great horses" at that, in the time of Ashur bani pal, we have no right to deny the Egyptian origin of "great horses" from Muçuri claimed by a king who but fifty years before had reached the boundary of Egypt.

Much stress has been laid on the difference in form, Muçri, Muçur, Muçuri, Miçir, Miçri. It is to be feared that those who do so depend too much on rules of phonetics as found in grammars. All that is indicated by these different forms, strange as it may seem to one accustomed to the more fixed character of Aryan vowel sounds, is that the

ancient orientals, like the modern, must have felt perfectly at liberty to modify, elide, or insert one of the obscure short vowels. Any unfortunate traveller who has attempted to write down exactly the vowel sounds in a new proper name from the mouth of a native will understand the modification such words are capable of. We have already seen that Muçuri and Muçur must be connected. Ashur bani pal uses the form Muçur, but the Babylonian Chronicle IV. 30 uses the form Miçir, while the Amarna tablets regularly use Miçri. The step to Muçri is short.

The final conquest of Egypt was due to Ashur bani pal, but the earlier expeditions were led by his father Esarhaddon. Indeed, it is generally recognized that the expedition of year I of Ashur bani pal according to his *Prism* is that attributed to year XII of Esarhaddon by *Bab. Chron.*, IV. 30. The expedition of year X, *ib.*, IV. 23, was also clearly against Egypt, for Memphis is mentioned by name as captured. The three battles they were now forced to fight would make us suspect that the last expedition was not a success, and indeed under year VII, *ib.* IV. 16, we are told that the Assyrians were defeated in Egypt. In year VI, Meluhha is attacked, if we are to accept Winckler's restoration. As this is a Babylonian document, Meluhha more probably meant the Sinaitic peninsula, though its use as meaning "South West Land," corresponding to Martu for "West Land," is perhaps as probable. We have then a definite advance in years VI, VII, X, XII.

Year VI was 675 and year VII 674. We should therefore expect some reference to so important an event as the invasion of Egypt in the Prisms of Esarhaddon, which date from 673. Only one place is possible. This is where we have the mutilated lines I. 55–II. 5. The Arzani city of I. 55 is a problem, but the *nahal Muçri*, "brook of Egypt," shows where we are. Another reference which clearly locates this "rook of Egypt" is the fragment of Esarhaddon's Annals, K. 3082 + 3086 + S. 2027, first published by Boscawen, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, IV. 84 *ff.*, and more fully by Budge, *Hist. of Esarhaddon*, 1881, 114 *ff.* The reverse refers to the Arabian campaign. The expedition took place in Nisan of year X, l. 12. This is clearly the one of year X, when Memphis was taken, *Bab. Chron.*, IV. 23. That this refers to Egypt is further proved by l. 15 where we hear of Baal of Tyre trusting to Tarqu of Kusi who is, of course, Taharka of Ethiopia. Esarhaddon claims the victory, and the impartial Babylonian Chronicle states that he conquered Memphis. On the other hand, he made no expedition in the next year, according to the same source, and it is therefore probable that, when he says that he directed his way from Muçur to Meluhha, he was really falling back from Egypt. Here Meluhha is used clearly in a different and older sense, for it is the

region on the immediate frontier of Egypt through which he retreats. He went thirty *kasbu* from the city Apqu (Aphek?) of the region (or boundary, *pat*) of Samena (Simeon?) to the city of Rapihi, to the frontiers of *nahal Muçri*, a place where a river, *nar*, was not, so that they were forced to transport water. Whether Samena be the tribe of Simeon, a possible identification, Rapihi is certainly Raphia, and the reference to frontiers, *iteti*, in the land of Egypt, can hardly be explained as other than being at Raphia, a situation agreeing well with what we know of other periods and of our own day. This definite statement that there was no *nar*, river, at the *nahal Muçri*, seems to me to be very strange. A curious confirmation of the quite widely spread theory that *ebir nari*, "the region across the river," grew up in this region! I do not know what linguistic reasons the supporters may have for calling a stream bed which sometimes, as, for example, in the year we visited it, has not in the whole twelve months a drop of water flowing, a river, nor do I know any case where the modern *nahar* or its equivalents in other languages are used for what is properly a *nahal* or *wadi*. Certainly Esarhaddon's direct denial of this term to our stream bed seems final. In this connection, I may note that Winckler's attempt to identify the *nahal Muçri* with the *wadi* at Raphia is not well taken. So far from there being a stream bed there, important enough to mark a boundary, one must needs search to find such a depression at all. There is no real stream bed worthy of the name south of the wadi of Gaza until one reaches the Wadi el 'Arish, and this is much more marked than the Gaza wadi.

We have seen one case where Meluhha was not Ethiopia. The tablet, *Keilinschr. Bibl.*, II. 150 gives Esarhaddon the title "the king of the kings of Muçur, Paturisi, Kusi." That these refer to the various kings who ruled in Egypt can hardly be doubted. But another, probably later, gives to Esarhaddon himself the title "King of Muçur" and adds "who took captive the King of Meluh." The king who is so definitely pointed out in a short display inscription as worthy of special note cannot be a petty Negeb chief of a wandering tribe. He can only be the greatest of the Assyrian's rivals, Taharka of Ethiopia. But then Meluh must be Ethiopia.

We have a similar agreement of data in the accounts of Semacherib's dealings with Egypt. II Kings 19[9] distinctly states that Taharka, king of Kush (Kusi or Ethiopia), made an advance against Sennacherib. It is unfortunate that just here we are very uncertain as to what were the original sources of the various versions so badly welded together, but that they are nearly contemporaneous and fairly accurate seems certain. Whatever errors in detail, I do not see how the author of such a document could fail to know what Egyptian king, in an advance

on another Assyrian king, saved Jerusalem. That Taharka had some reason for his boasting may perhaps be surmised from his Karnak lists, cf. Maspero, *Empires*, 368. Whatever his exaggerations, the basis may well have been a victory in Syria.

Of great evidential value, because from so totally different a source, is the story of Herodotus II. 141 which naturally goes back to Egyptian beginnings. Here Sanacharibos invades Egypt, gets as far as Pelusium, —a short distance beyond 'Arish,—and is driven back by divine intervention. The story no doubt is fantastic and incorrectly located in Egyptian history. But how the real name of an Assyrian king, correct in every consonant, could have lingered on in Egypt as part of folk story for over two centuries I can only explain by believing that some such expedition was actually undertaken.

We have thus two foreign and absolutely unconnected sources stating that Sennacherib had important dealing with Egypt. It would be extremely strange, if we should find no trace of such connections in Sennacherib's own inscriptions. Yet this is what we must face, if, with Winckler, we ascribe Prism II. 73 *ff.* to his Negeb Muçri. Now it has been said that the real Egyptian relations were after 691 when the Prism ends, the date of the capture of Babylon. The Babylonian Chronicle also stops here, and the rest of the region is blank. Why? It is hardly going too far to assume that these last ten years were years of comparative peace. Sennacherib could not have been a very young man, when he ascended the throne, and he was now probably becoming old and less energetic. We would then be driven to take the Altaqu campaign. Certainly there is nothing in the account which forbids our taking Muçuri as Egypt. There is no better time than just now for kings instead of a single king to rule Egypt, for now was the period of the Delta kings. Nor need we be troubled by these kings calling in the king of Meluhha or Ethiopia. That is just what was done. At least, the Ethiopian came in and probably he was invited. The king had a body of chariots. It would be perfectly easy for chariots to come through the level desert from Egypt. If we should take Meluhha to be Ma'in, one would like to know just what route these chariots took in their way down Ma'in to Altaqu. Our own difficulties in carrying pack mules over the steep slippery passes of the Arabah would make us doubt the possibility of the attempt.

It is possible that the Egyptian who led this expedition was Shabaka. At any rate, we know he had dealings with Assyria in this period. His seals have been found at Kalhu, attached originally to a treaty, as the string marks on the lumps of clay indicate. These are 51–9–2, 43, and 81–2–4, 352, Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 156 *ff.*, the inscriptions, E. A. W. Budge, *Mummy*, 1893, 249. Layard, *op. cit.*, 159,

attributes this to Sennacherib, Budge, *Egypt*, 1902, VI. 127, to Sargon. The latter is perhaps more probable, as Kalhu was rather more occupied by him. Perhaps a comparison with the other seals of Sargon, K. 391, 3781, S. *2276*, might settle the question.

For Sargon's reign we have only general probability and topography to guide us, but our experience thus far will materially assist. In 713 we have the revolt of Ashdod instigated by Piru, king of Muçri, whom we naturally take to be a Pharaoh of Egypt. But Winckler makes him a ruler of the Negeb Muçri. We may indeed compare the "Arabian" Piram of Jarmuth, Josh. 10^3. But Pharaoh is regularly used for a king of Egypt, sometimes alone, sometimes prefixed to the proper name as Pharaoh Necho. Just at this period *Pera* is used in this sense by the Egyptians themselves. The Hebrews regularly used Pharaoh as a proper name, and the Assyrians took Ianzu in the same fashion, though it is the Kashshite for "king." There are therefore good grounds for supposing similar action in changing *pera* into Piru. Egyptian intrigue here is the most natural, and the mention of a Pharaoh at just the time when this title was most in use in Egypt seems quite conclusive. If the *kibri nari* can be taken, *Ashdod* 42, in the face of the statement of the Esarhaddon *Annals*, to refer to Wadi el 'Arish, then Iamani would be fleeing to cross the border at 'Arish. The explanation given above of Muçri, a country of Ethiopia, would then fit well. We may suspect that perhaps Egypt did not give up the fugitives. Two versions of Iamani's fate agree with two regarding Merodach Baladan. The third admits that the latter escaped. Was the same true of the former?

Piru appears already in 716 in company with Samse, queen of Aribbi and Itamra the Sabaean. Much has been made of this. In the *Display Inscription*, 23, he follows Sibu of Muçuri, which shows that the two are to be connected topographically. In Annals 97, he follows Samaria. Perhaps this is because mention of that city recalled to the scribe the ruler who intrigued with it.

Sibu of Muçuri was the cause of the revolt of Hanunu of Gaza. He is clearly identical, as all have seen, with the So who caused the falling away of Samaria, his name perhaps being read really Sibu or the like. Perhaps we are not justified in comparing Shabaka, even if we take the *ka* to be a suffix. At the same time, the resemblance seems hardly an accident. Whether we take Sibu as Shabaka will depend in the last resort on the settlement of the still too uncertain chronology of the time in Egypt.

There is one difficult question for the advocates of the theory to answer. If Sibu was falling back from Gaza to a Negeb Muçri or to Ma'in itself, why did he go south*west* to Raphia? This is on the road to Egypt. To go into the Negeb proper, he should have proceeded

south*east* along the well-travelled road to Khalaça (Elusa). If Sibu was an Egyptian, all is clear. He was falling back on the Egyptian frontier at Rhinocolura ('Arish) whence he had summoned his *tartan* or general, for so we must take it with the Annals; the Display Inscription puts Sibu and Piru together and has place for only one king. He was naturally overtaken at Raphia,—his *tartan* had probably come up, —and the battle was fought at Raphia, where later the Seleucidae and Lagidae contended for Palestine and where the present Egyptian frontier is situated.

Much stress is also laid on the appointment of Idib'ili, a tribe (or less well a man) to the office of *qeputi* over (*eli*) Muçri, by Tiglath Pileser III, *Clay Tablet of Nimrud*, 56, *etc.* The Assyrian king had just driven out Hanunu from Gaza. The next thing was an advance on Egypt. To do so in safety, it was necessary to buy off the Arabian tribes who now, as in the days of Cambyses, could make advance on Egypt impossible. Our passage probably means only that these tribes were won over or at least rendered neutral by the legalization of their attacks, at least on Egypt, by making them a sort of officials. A close parallel is the recognition of the *status quo* among the Kurds by the present Sultan of Turkey legalizing these robber bands by calling them imperial regiments.

May we go a step further and see in the Muçrai of Shalmaneser II, *Monolith*, II. 92, Egyptians? We note at once that there is no topographical order in the list of contingents and thus we can not utilize this means. We also note the small number, one thousand, and the fact that no leader is named. This agrees well with the weak condition of Egypt at this time, less than a century after Shishak invaded Palestine in person. In this connection, it is perhaps significant that W. M. Müller, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, 1893, 209 *ff.*, seems to have shown that the animals attributed to Muçri in the Black Obelisk are really Egyptian.

Such are the main passages of the Assyrian inscriptions in which a Negeb Muçri has been found. How many difficulties are in the way have been indicated. One more question occurs. It is generally agreed that the main narrative parts of the Pentateuch have assumed their present form about 850 to 650 B. C., that is, in the very time in which it is assumed that Muçri was an independent power. Scholars are agreed that the touches of local Egyptian color in these stories date from just this same period. It seems to be an important part of the Muçri theory to assume that the story of the Exodus from Egypt was in some attenuated form an exodus from the Negeb Muçri. Now the question is just this. How was it that the exodus story was transferred from Muçri to Egypt and adorned with local color just at the

place at the present time.[35] Hamath, as already noted, was made an Assyrian colony.

In the case of one city, Samaria,[36] the native records tell us a little more of this process of settlement. The city itself had already been taken by Shalmaneser, but all further arrangements seem to have been left to Sargon. Twenty-seven thousand of the leading citizens of the kingdom were deported[37] and settled in Mesopotamia and Media,[38] there to

time when, according to the theory, Muçri was the one great power of the southwestern world? Until this and similar questions and objections are answered, we may very properly refuse to accept an independent Muçri in the Negeb.

[35] A governor of Dimashqu is known in 694, one of Samalla in 681, of Samaria in 645, of Çimirra in 693, of Çurri (Tyre) in 648, of Arpad in 692, Johns, *Deeds*, II. 135 *ff*. None of Hamath is known. In 702, Çil Bel was king of Gaza, Sennacherib, *Prism*, III. 25.

[36] The more usual Assyrian form is Samerina A. 25, 97, D. 22, 33, B. 21, but Samirina occurs, D. 33, XIV. 15, P. IV. 31. For discussion as to the actual form of the name vocalized in the present Hebrew text Shomeron, but more probably Shamerain or Shameron, cf. B. Stade, *Zeitschr. f. Alttest. Wiss.*, IV. 165 *ff*. The present name, Sebastieh, is one of the rare instances of a Greek name, Sebaste, supplanting an earlier Semitic one. Visited in April, 1905.

[37] The number of deported, 27,290, agrees very well with the 10,000 taken by Nebuchadnezzar from the much poorer Judah, II Kings, 24^{14}. Both, if somewhat exaggerated, have the look of probability as compared with the 200,150 taken from Judah by Sennacherib, *Prism*, III. 17. It is curious to note that most writers, even Maspero, have 27,280.

[38] The data for this deportation are found in II Kings 17^{6}; 18^{11}, which seem to rest on nearly contemporary, perhaps Assyrian, sources. Of the two centers, one is clearly in Mesopotamia. Halah seems to be the Chalkitis of Ptol. V. 17. 4, a region of Mesopotamia and may possible be the Chalkidike, east of Apamaea, of Strabo, XVI. 2. 11. That it is also the Kalachene of Strabo XVI and Ptol. VI is asserted by Jeremias, *Beitr. z. Assyr.* III. 92 and Johns, *Deeds*, III. 478. It is clearly the city Halahha of the Geographical Catalogue II. R. 53, 36, of K. 10922, and of 79-7-8, 303, 4, Schrader, *Keilinschr. und d. Alte Test.*, and Winckler, *Forsch.* I. 292. Jensen, *l. c.*, and Johns, *l. c.*, place this latter in Assyria proper on the basis of an identification of the city of Arbaha which is next mentioned in the list, with the

form a nucleus for that community of Jews, who for a long time made the east the real center of Jewish thought. But Samaria was not abandoned. The city was rebuilt and the

Armenian Albagh. But the connection with Harran in K. 10922 and with Raçapa in II R. 53 clearly shows it to be rather in Mesopotamia. This location is confirmed by the letter 83-1-18, 6 = H. 421, discussed by Johns, *Doomsday Book*, 25. This letter, written probably in the patois of the district, is from a certain Marduk shum uçur who informs the king that ten homers of seed land in the land of Halahhu, granted by his royal father, perhaps Sargon, have been confiscated by the governor of Baralçu. He prays for redress, as he cannot leave the palace, on account of his duties there, to attend to the suit in person. While it might be rash to assert that Marduk shum uçur was actually one of the absentee landlords who held their serfs by the feudal tenure we so often see, the fact that Bible, census, and letter, dovetail so neatly into each other makes the probability of such a fact strong. K. 123 = J. 750 is another document of this sort, for it is a list of lands in Hilahha belonging to Ahi iaqamu and gives the names of owners and of farmsteads.—We have here a good instance of the danger of conjectural emendation. Winckler, in *Alttest. Untersuch.*, 108 *ff.*, suggested Balah for Halah. Fischer has done exactly the same thing in reading Balichitis for Chalcitis in Ptol. V. 17, 4, while Müller read Charritis or Harran. We now know that the manuscript reading is to be retained in each case, and Winckler, *Forsch.*, I. 292, has withdrawn his conjecture.

The Habor is clearly the Mesopotamian Habur, the Chaboras of the Greeks. Jeremias, *l. c.*, is therefore incorrect in making it the small Assyrian river of that name north of Mosul. Gozan again is not the Guzan southwest of Lake Van, Schrader, *Keilinschr. u. d. Alte Test.*, 275, but the city of Guzana, II. R. 53 43a, etc., the Guazanitis of Ptol. VI. 17. 4. An absolute proof of this Jewish settlement is found in K. 1366 = H. 663, discussed by Johns, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1905, 188. Here we have not only several Iau (Yahweh) names but a certain Halbishu who is called the Samaritan (Samirinai). Spiegel, in Delattre, *Mèdes*, 110, reads *hare*, "mountains," for *'are*, "cities," of the Medes, on the basis of Septuagint. I have long suspected myself that a more radical emendation is needed to find a Mesopotamian town or country but have had no success. However, Ainsworth, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1892, 72, may be right in understanding the Medes here as Mitani.

survivors made Assyrian citizens with the usual tribute to be paid to the Assyrian governor.[39]

The system of deportation was in common use at this time, the purpose being to break up the local attachments and to make the new settlers, naturally on bad terms with the original inhabitants of the land, feel that they owed everything to the protection of the imperial power. Five cases are known at least. In 720 the Aramaean tribes from near Dur ilu, the Tumunu and the Mattisai, were settled in Syria, probably at Hamath.[40] In 717 the revolted Papa and Lallukua, two tribes of Hittite origin, were settled in Damascus.[42] In 715 Sargon claims to have settled tribes in Samaria from Arabia. More probably this was merely an acknowledgment of the accomplished fact. As the Syrian localities gradually became deserted owing to the constant civil wars and the attacks of Assyria, the resistance to the constant pressure from the desert weakened and the Arabs pushed in even as they have to this day, when we still have Bedawin considerable distances west of the Jordan. If they only paid tribute, the Assyrians could have no objections to their settlement, and so to this cause perhaps as

[39] A. 11 *ff.*; D. 24 *f.*; XIV. 15; P. IV. 31 *f.*; B. 21; C. 19. The last three refer to the conquest of the land of Bit Humri, "the house of Omri."—A discussion of the general question of the settlement of Syria would carry me too far afield. It should be noted, however, that II Kings 17^{24-33}, which is often assigned to this reign, can hardly be so placed. After stripping off the Deuteronomic accretions, we seem to have an authentic core. The settlement of cultured men from Babylon can hardly be ascribed to the Sargon who cared so well for that city. Such a proceeding would be appropriate rather to Sennacherib or to Ashur bani pal. Hamath is the only place mentioned in the Biblical lists which could be well ascribed to Sargon's reign, and in this case it is unlikely that men from Hamath should be settled so near home as Samaria.

[40] See above.

[41] D. 49, 56.

much as any other we owe the Aramaization of this region.[43] Daiukku (Deioces) of Media and Itti of Allabria were settled at Hamath.[41]

These four desert tribes of the "distant Arabs"[44] were the Tamudi, the Ibadidi,[45] the Marsimani,[46] and the Haiapa. Their former location, if we can judge from the identification of the Haiapa with the Midianite clan Ephah,[47] was on the Gulf of Aqabah and along the eastern shore of the Red Sea. It is also in this region, at the ruins of Medain Çalih, that we have localized the story of the Thamud, clearly the Tamudi of our inscriptions. This Thamud, according to the prophet Mohammed, was a great prehistoric tribe, the successor of 'Ad. In the pride of their hearts they "made from the plains castles and dug out the mountains into houses." At last there came unto them the prophet Çalih who preached to them the doctrine of the Unity. Nevertheless, they would not accept the manifest sign of the she camel, sprung from the rock in witness against them, but hardened their hearts and hamstrung her. Then came the great earthquake, and in the morning they all lay on their faces, dead in their houses. Such was the tale told by the prophet to point the moral to those who would not accept

[43] A. 52.

[45] A. 94 *ff.*

[44] These Arbai had already been "conquered" by Tiglath Pileser, *Annals*, 219.

[45] According to Halévy, *Rev. Étud. Juives*, 1884, 12, the Ibadidi are the Ibad Ded, the servants of the well-known god Dad.

[46] The Marsimani are, according to F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, 1881, 304, the Maisaimameis of Ptolemy. F. Hommel, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, 1897, 195, reads Mar Isimani and compares the Jèshimon of Num. 21^{20}, etc., and the Iasumunu of K. 3500.

[47] Gen. 25^{4}, etc. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 304. For their location, cf. E. Glaser, *Skizze der Gesch. u. Geog. Arabiens*, 1890, II. 261.

his own teaching.[48] In reality, Thamud was a petty tribe in Assyrian times, and as a petty tribe it was still known to the Roman geographers.[49]

To the same year we have assigned the "tribute"—the senders no doubt considered it only a present from ruler to ruler,—of Piru of Muçri (Pharaoh of Egypt),[50] Samsi queen of the land of Aribbi, and of Itamra of Saba. Does this "tribute" of Pharaoh mean a settlement by treaty of the Syrian question by the two powers interested? The fact that there has been found at Kalhu, where Sargon at this time resided, a bit of clay, evidently affixed to a parchment or papyrus document, bearing the seals of Shabaka and of an unknown Assyrian ruler, seems to point in this direction.[51]

Samsi, queen of Aribbi, is interesting to us as representing the older matriarchal form of authority current in Arabia, the classic example of which is found in the Queen of

[48] The story is given in greatest detail in Sura VII. 71 *ff.* Elsewhere we have frequent references, often extended. Thus, for example, Sura XIV is called Al Hajr, "the rock," since our story holds the main place in it. The later writers add nothing of value.

[49] The form Thamudenoi occurs, Diod. III. 44; Agatharcides, *Geog. Min.*, I. 181; Plin., *N. H.*, 28, 32. Stephen of Byzantium, *sub voc.*, quotes Uranius for the form Thamuda. The Thamyditae of Ptol. VI 7. 4 may be the same, Schrader, *Keilinschr. u. Geschforch.*, 263. Perhaps we are also to see it in the Thamad of the Talmud, Wiesner, *Ben. Han., talm. forsch.*, no. 39, p. 111 quoted A. Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 1868, 300 n.[8] Glaser, *op. cit.*, places them about Mecca, but the legend seems to place it further north, at Medain Çalih, where we have the important Nabataean inscriptions.

[50] Stress has been laid on the connection of Muçri with Aribbi. Has it ever been noted that Muçri follows Samaria? May not the mention of Samaria have suggested that the scribe should place here the submission of the power which had supported Samaria in its last revolt?

[51] A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 1853, 156.

Sheba who visited Solomon.[52] Samsi, who probably lived in the desert region immediately south of the Euphrates rather than in Arabia proper,[53] had already sent "tribute" to Tiglath Pileser.[54]

The mention of Itamra the Sabaean is of great importance for our knowledge of Arabian history. Itamra must be one of the mukarrib (princes) or kings who appear as Yatha-'amar in the Sabaean inscriptions,[55] and thus a clue is secured for the chronology of pre-Muslim Arabia.[56] It also gives us a new conception of conditions in that region. If this was not a tribute, but rather a present from equal to equal, why was it sent? No doubt, it was felt that the two civilized powers ought to unite against the more barbarous tribes between. Again, as the two countries had no mutual boundaries to cause friction, so they had no commercial rivalries, but rather they had goods each wished to exchange with the other. Thus far, this trade had been in the hands of Syrians, but the merchants of Assyria would be glad to import their goods themselves and by a less round-about route. The most important reason, no doubt, was the wish of the Sabaeans to displace the older power of Ma'in. To do this a stroke directed at their commerce would accomplish most. Assyria now held Gaza, the Mediterranean port

[52] With the name of the queen Samsi we should probably compare the form Samsi used for the sun god Shamash in the Harran Census. This is another hint as to location.

[53] These Aribbi are probably to be located on the north border of the desert near the Euphrates. Here Xenophon, *Anab.*, I. 5. 1 found an Arabia, here were the Arabes Skenitai of Strab. XVI. 1. 3.

[54] Annals 210.

[55] For a list of these Yatha 'amars, see Mordtmann and Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, 1883, 108. Cf. the Ithamar, son of Aaron, Ex. 6^{23}.

[56] This chronology is still uncertain, since we do not know whether we are dealing with a real king or with an earlier makrab.

of the Minaeans. Assyria seems to have taken the side of Saba and thus accelerated the decay of Ma'in.[57]

For about six years after the settlement of 720 Syria remained fairly quiet. But, whatever the truth about a treaty with Egypt, that country continued to intrigue with the Philistine coast. About 714 Azuri,[58] king of Ashdod,[59] withheld tribute and instigated a revolt of his neighbors. This was quickly quelled and his brother,[60] Ahimiti, the crown prince,[61] elevated to the throne. His reign was short, for the anti-Assyrian party was still in control, and as soon as the Assyrian army retired to go into winter quarters he was overthrown and a mercenary Greek soldier from Cyprus, called Iamani or "the Ionian," was chosen in his place.[62] The revolt spread rapidly, Gath, Judah, Moab, and Edom taking part.[63]

[57] The early history of Arabia is worked out by E. Glaser, *Skizze der Gesch, Arabiens,* 1889, a privately published work, impossible to secure, cf. his *Abessimier,* 30. See also Winckler, in Helmolt, *History of the World,* III. 248 and often in his *Forsch.*—Here also should be placed K. 1265, published by Winckler, *Sammlung,* II. 62; Johns, *Deeds,* 752; translated by Winckler, *Forsch.,* I. 465, and discussed by Johns, *op. cit.,* III. 538. It seems to report a tribute of 164 white camels sent by Hataranu and Iarapa, the headmen, *rab kiçir,* who present the tribute of this same Samsi of Aribbi. Other camels are sent by Ganabu and Tamranu who are soldiers. For the names, cf. Johns, *l. c.,* where all are shown to bear good Arabic names.

[58] We also have Aziru in *Amarna,* 41 etc. Tiele, *Gesch.,* 270 compares the Biblical Azariah. Schrader, *op. cit.,* 162 equates with 'Azur.

[59] Ashdod was called Ashdudu by the Assyrians, Azotus by the Greeks, and is the modern Esdud. Visited in January, 1905.

[60] Schrader, *op. cit.,* 162, makes it Ahimiti, "my brother is man" or "brother of death," comparing Ahimoth of I Chron. 6^{10}.

[61] For *talimu,* cf. Winckler, *Forsch.,* II. 193.

[62] The name is generally written Iamani, but in A. 220 the form Iatna is used. We should compare the similar change from Iatnana and Iamna as applied to Cyprus. Johns, *Deeds,* III. 124 cites the forms Iamanni, Iamanu, Iamani. Winckler, *Mittheil. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.,*

How important this outbreak was is shown by the haste with which Sargon acted. Although it was still early in the year 713,[64] too early for the feudal levy to be called out, he did not hesitate, but sent his tartan, Ashur içka danin,[65] with only the few hundred[66] in his own body guard. The Tigris and Euphrates were crossed at full flood, and he

I. 26 n. 1, would see in him a Yemanite rather than an Ionian. But we know that only a little later Cyprus was in close relations with Assyria, and it is certainly far easier for a Greek to come across the sea from Cyprus than for a South Arabian to cross that country to the Philistine seacoast. Indeed, a better time for the intervention of a Greek could hardly be found. The almost total cessation of direct intercourse between Egypt and Greece which had begun at the end of the Mycenaean period proper, was now past and the century 750–650 marks the ever-increasing extension of the Greeks. As H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, 1901, 269 n.[5], well observes, the passage Odyss. XIV. 257 *ff.*, where we have Cretan pirates plundering the Egyptian coast until the king comes out in person, must refer to this very time when the "Delta kings" divided the sovereignty of Egypt. So strong was this Greek influence and so numerous were the Greek emigrants that barely a half century later than Sargon, the Greeks had their own cities in Egypt, the Melesian Fort, Daphnae, and Naucratis. It is the most natural thing in the world to assume that, in this great outpouring of the Greek nation, a Greek pirate turned up in Ashdod, and, in virtue of his superior armor and superior military training which was already admitted, should take charge of affairs. It is rather more difficult to see such a leader in the conductor of a Minaean caravan. Compare also the Krethim of David's body guard, called Cretans by the Greek version.

[64] The Assyrian forms are Piliste, Gimtu, Iaudu, Udumu, Mabu. On our last trip, we visited Edom and Moab.

[64] I have finally concluded that the chronology of the Prism is the more probable. The Annals gives 711. See introduction.

[65] That he was tartan is shown by K. 998, quoted by Johns, *Deeds*, II. 69. Note also that Iamani is carried to Sargon's presence, D. 109 *ff.*; XIV. 14.

[66] If Winckler correctly understands K. 82-3-23, 131, he had but 420.

[67] G. Smith, *Discoveries*, 293, compares the similar action of Hezekiah, II. Chron. 2^{3-4}. I do not see where the water came from. Only wells are used now.

suddenly appeared in Syria. Iamani had made his preparations, had surrounded the low-lying city with a trench, secured a water supply from outside the city,[67] and called to his aid troops from other parts of the country. In spite of all this, he lost his heart when the Assyrians appeared so suddenly and fled to Egypt whence he was extradited and handed over to Sargon.[68]

The cities of the Philistine plain were thus left defenseless and at least Ashdod with its port[69] and Gath[70] were taken. Their inhabitants, men and gods alike, were carried

[68] A. 225 states that he was carried from Ashdod directly, yet D. 109 *ff.*; XIV. 14, states that he fled to Egypt and was extradited from thence. We have also two such statements in the case of Merodach Baladan along side of a third which relates his escape. Is such a third possibility to be considered here? When Muçuri is said to be *sha pat* of the region of Meluhha, need it mean more than that the fact of Ethiopic control was known in Nineveh? It is well known that the famous treaty between Ramessu II and the Hittites contained an extradition clause. Such treaties may still have been made.

The use of Meluhha for Ethiopia is a mere archaism such as is very common in the later Assyrian empire, cf. *e. g.*, Martu, Muski, Hashmar, Mash, not one name of which seems really to correspond to conditions in the time of Sargon. This is clearly shown in Ashur bani pal, Ras, Cyl., where I 52 *ana Magan u Meluhha* exactly corresponds with *ana Muçur u Kusi.*

[69] Called Asdudimmu which Cheyne, *Book of Isaiah,* 1895, 121, compares with Ashdod hay Yam or the seaport. It was the Azotas Paralios of the classical writers and the Mahuz Azdud of Muqadasi, Le Strange, *Palestine,* 24. Its present name, Minet el Qal'a, is derived from the little modern fort which is the only building now there. The ruins of the classical city are low lying and covered with sand and so worked over by diggers that excavations would be of little value. Much fine marble is dug up and many trinkets were offered us for sale. The city seems to have been large and important and lay directly on the sea. There was no harbor. To reach it is now a hard hour's struggle over the blown sands. Visited in January, 1905.

[70] Gath is the Gimtu of the Assyrians. Its site is not known but Tell es Safi, which we visited in January, 1905, is a splendid situation and is not forbidden by the data we possess.

off into captivity. But these towns were too important to remain desolate long. They were therefore rebuilt and settled with loyal colonists. Over them was probably placed that Mitinti we meet as king early in the reign of Sennacherib.[71] The other revolted states probably remained unconquered. If Sargon now held the cities of the Philistine plain and controlled the great trade routes, he could afford to permit a precarious liberty to the mountaineers of Judah, Moab, and Ammon.[72]

This sudden punishment seems to have strongly impressed the imagination of the Syrians and to have had a good effect in keeping Syria quiet. There are no further accounts of revolts. For the twelve years which extend to the invasion of Sennacherib in 701, there is absolutely not a single fact known in regard to the history of Syria.

[71] According to A. 271, a governor was placed over the city but this is probably a mere formula, as Sennacherib, *Prism* II. 51 (702) already knows Mitinti as king.

[72] A. 215 *ff.*; XIV. 14; D. 90 *ff.* The fragments of Prism A. give more detail. A few additions are made from K. 82-3-23, 131, published by Winckler, *Forsch.*, II. 570 *ff.*—Ascalon seems to have remained quiet under its pro-Assyrian king, Rukibti, Sennacherib, *Prism* II. 62.

CHAPTER IV

THE NORTHWEST FRONTIER

The second of the frontiers was that on the northwest which we have already touched upon in mentioning Samal.[1] Here the greatest advance in the reign took place, although the region had already been conquered by Shalmaneser I and Tiglath Pileser I. The half-century-long weakness of Assyria had given Haldia control of this region. Tiglath Pileser III broke the power of Sardurish and forced the states to pay tribute. For some reason he did not attempt to inflict his provincial system on them. Consequently, on his death, Haldia once more gained the ascendency.[2]

Conditions were, however, changed, and Haldia found a new power which was, if a rival, also an ally against Assyria. This new power was that of Mita of Muski, or, to give him the name he more commonly is known by, Midas the Phrygian.[3]

[1] Cf. chap. III. n. 20.

[2] Annals, 59 *ff.*

[3] The fact that Midas and Mita were equivalent was first noted by H. Rawlinson, in G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*,[2] I. 131, quoted by G. Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, II. 151, n. 7. The definite working out of this identification was first done by Winckler, *Forsch.*, II. 136. He seems to think that Mita was actually the Midas of the Greeks. But I rather believe that the Mita lord of the [city] of the oracle 83-1-18, 557 = Kn. 51 is the Midas who killed himself when defeated by the Cimmerians, Strabo, I. 3. 21. The names of Gordius and Midas alternated in the Phrygian dynasty, and I would, therefore, make this Mita the grandfather of the last of the line.—In the time of Tiglath Pileser I, *Prism*, I. 62 *ff.*, the Muski are on the upper Euphrates. From that to the days of Sargon, there is no reference to them. I believe that Winckler, *l. c.*, is right in thinking that Midas the Phygian is called the Muskian

Some centuries earlier a number of Thracian tribes had invaded Asia Minor. The most important of these were the Phrygians, who seem to have already worked their way well to the east by the time of Tiglath Pileser. An opportunity for decided advance was here presented. Sardurish was weakened by defeats and Shalmaneser was weak in character. By the time when Sargon came to the throne, all Asia Minor was Phrygian, or under Phrygian influence. His actual frontier left the Mediterranean at Cilicia Trachæa and ran past Lake Tatta to the Halys river, the earlier Haldian boundary. Pteria itself, the old Hittite capital in this region, was probably in his hands, and perhaps from this fact he gained the title of the Muskian. He thus had, it would seem, as large an immediate kingdom as the later Lydians, while his influence beyond his borders to the east was greater. It is rather startling to find Carchemish on the Euphrates revolting at Phrygian instigation.

The first operations in this region took place in 718. In this year, Kiakki of Shinuhtu,[4] a petty chieftain of Tabal, a somewhat ill-defined term applied to southern Cappadocia,[5]

by the Assyrians only because he had conquered the territory once held by the Muski. With them are identical the Meshech of Gen. 10[2] and the Moschoi of Herod. III. 94, etc. Their present location was probably about Caesarea Mazaka, for Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccl.*, IX. 12, makes as eponymous founder of that city, Mosoch, the ancestor of the Cappadocians.

[4] Delattre, *L'Asie Occidentale*, quoted by Maspero, *op. cit.*, 239 n.[3], makes Shinuhtu the capital of a district on the Saros. This would bring it only a few miles east of Tyana. But between that valley and the Tyana region, there are two mountain ranges running north and south, one over ten thousand feet high, and there are no roads between. If we assume that the advance was across the Cilician Gates and that Shinuhtu was between them and Tyana, on the great road, we have no objection, and the whole series of campaigns has a beginning we can understand.

[5] Tabal corresponds to the Tibarenoi of Herod. III. 94, etc. At this time, it clearly means South Cappadocia in general.

refused to send tribute any longer, instigated, it may be presumed, by Midas. An army was sent against him, probably that commanded by the governor of eastern Cilicia or Que.[6] Tarsus appears to have been the base. From this the army followed the time-honored war route which led through the Cilician Gates.[7] In the rough Taurus country to the north the war dragged on until finally Kiakki and his fighting men were captured and deported.[8]

Shinuhtu was not made a separate province, perhaps because it was too small and too poor to be worth the trouble. A certain Matti of Tuna (Tyana)[9] offered to pay a higher

[6] Que is the eastern part of the classical Cilicia whose capital was Tarzi or Tarsus, Sachau, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, 1892, 98, the Koaios of Hicks, *Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, XI. no. VI. 1, and the Kouas of CIG. 4402, 4410. For the Assyrian forms Qu, Qua, Quai, Quia, cf. Johns, *Deeds*, III. 463. W. M. Müller, *Mitth. Vorderasiat. Gesell.*, 1898, 3, 59 compares Kyinda = Que *plus* nda.

[7] Cyrus the younger and Alexander, for example, took this road. In mediaeval times, it was the Darb es Salamah, the great war route leading north from the Bab al Jihad or "Gate of the Holy War," whence each year an army went forth against the Christians, cf. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 133 *f.* The new railway crosses the Taurus by the same route.

[8] A. 42 *ff.*; D. 28 *f.* That he is called *shar Tabali* does not mean that he is king of all Tabal, N. 11. *Shar* may here mean only "prince."

[9] Tuna, or, with prosthetic aleph, Atuna, occurs also in *Annals* 153 of Tiglath Pileser. I have no doubt that it is the classical Tyana, a highly important place, cf. W. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. Asia Minor*, 1890, 546 n., and Tyanitis, the region immediately about it. The fact that Hittite inscriptions have been found at the nearby Bor is a further confirmation. Sachau, *Zeitsch. f. Assyr.*, 1892, 98 and Maspero, *op. cit.*, 239 n.[2], think it rather the Tynna of Ptol. V. 6. 22 and C.I.L. VI. 5076. It is very peculiar that a name so similar to Tyana should be found so near it, but the epigraphical evidence seems to prove its separate existence. The maps omit it. But whether there was a Tynna or not, I cannot understand the reasoning which would prefer a practically unknown town to a city so old that it was later considered sacred and so important that it gave its name to a strategeia. Winckler, in his map opposite p. 86, Helmolt, *History*, places it at Albistan. He thus

tribute of horses and mules, of gold and silver, and so the country was handed over to him in the hope, vain as it proved, that a buffer state could here be made against Phrygia. In this way, too, an excuse could be found for an attempted control of Tyana itself. That city, even then probably an important religious and political center, commanded the great cross road which ran from Tarsus through the Cilician Gates past Pteria and on to Sinope on the Black Sea. When Matti no longer was faithful, Tuna came under the direct control of the Assyrians.[10]

The next year, 717, we find an expedition against Car-

is forced to deny any connection between Tuna and Tyana. But such a location likewise has serious topographical difficulties. To reach Albistan, he must pass Mar'ash or Malatia, and both were yet unconquered. Tuna also cuts in between the city from which Kammanu took its name and its capital Meliddu. Furthermore, in the second campaign against Tuna, mentioned only in Prism B. and therefore probably unnoticed by Winckler when he made this identification, we have first Tuna and then Hilakku attacked, although Malatia and Mar'ash are still unconquered, and the road between Albistan and Mazaka was not easy. On the other hand, if we still allow Tuna to be Tyana, we have identification with a well-known later site and we have a gradual and natural advance from a natural base in Tarsus, along one of the most famous and important war routes of the ancient world, and are naturally led on to Mazaka around which Hilakku must be placed. Billerbeck, in his general map of the east, *Ency. Bibl.*, still clings to Tyana.—Both Professor Sterrett and Professor Ramsay believe Tyana to be the most inviting site for excavations in Asia Minor. Professor Sterrett states that the Mar'ash-Albistan and Malatia-Albistan roads are extremely difficult and notes that Albistan is decidedly off the main lines of travel.

[10] Cf. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, 228.—For the whole chapter, I have found this work of Ramsay of the utmost value. The best map of Asia Minor is that by J. G. Anderson, 1905, which, though on a comparatively small scale, has contour lines, and the Roman roads, and thus makes the topography capable of being understood. I am not personally acquainted with the country, but this is to be the less regretted, as I have been able to utilize the detailed knowledge of the whole of eastern Asia Minor which Professor J. R. S. Sterrett has obtained in his numerous and fruitful expeditions for the exploration of that part of the East.

chemish undertaken.[11] Why it had been so long spared by the Assyrians we can only surmise. Probably it was, like the Phoenician cities, predominantly mercantile, perfectly willing to pay tribute so long as it could trade, and careless as to the political changes going on about it. During the period of Assyrian decline, it seems to have been left in peace to its own devices and naturally resented the loss of freedom and especially the tribute inflicted by Tiglath Pileser, since it probably was forced to make up arrears.[12] Pisiris, who had held the throne since at least 740, was at last induced by Midas to throw off completely the Assyrian yoke.

The loss of Carchemish was serious. It commanded the great high road to Asia Minor and to Egypt, and its possession by a foreign power blocked the way to the west for both caravans and armies. Furthermore, as an advanced post for Midas it was dangerously near the old capital of Mesopotamia, Harran. Add to this the fact that Carchemish was the great commercial rival of Kalhu, and it may be seen that the commercial classes of Assyria would be bitterly opposed to passing over this revolt.

In spite of the evident importance of the site, neither Rusash nor Midas gave adequate support. A good fight was made, but the city was at length captured, Pisiris dethroned, and the country made a regularly organized Assy-

[11] Gargamish in the Assyrian. Johns, *Deeds*, III. 525, suggests that Gar here is only a West Semitic form of *Kar*, "fortress." But the whole make-up of the word Gargamish is Asianic, not Semitic.

[12] Sargon only uses the form Pisiri but Tiglath Pileser shows that Pisiris was used. This *s* is clearly the nominal ending. We must compare the *ss* of Asianic place names and the curious T-shaped sign = *ss* on the Lygdamis inscription from Halicarnassus. It is interesting to find that in certain forms of modern Greek *ss* or even *s* before *i* is pronounced *sh*, W. M. Leake, *Morea*, 1830, I. XI.

rian province.[13] From this time on, so long as the empire itself lasted, Assyria held the great western road.[14]

As might be expected, the sack of so great a city, perhaps the most important trading city of its time in the world, produced enormous booty. According to the official accounts, perhaps not to be entirely trusted, the value of the precious metals alone amounted to the huge sum of eleven talents of gold and twenty-one hundred of silver. Among other valuables carried off and laid up in Kalhu against the day when they should adorn Dur Sharrukin were bronze, ivory, and elephant hides. Carchemish, like other mercantile cities, had her army, perhaps all mercenaries. These were taken over in a body and added to the new standing army.[15]

While the danger to Assyria from a free Carchemish was thus great and its capture correspondingly important, the effect of its loss on the Hittite peoples has been much exaggerated.[16] No doubt, it was their greatest commercial city and the transfer of commercial supremacy from an allied to a purely alien race made a difference. But we must remember that the "Hittite Empire," whatever it really was, had long been a thing of the past and that there was no organic union between the petty Hittite states which had taken its place. The allies had been, not these little states, but the greater rulers. Some were brought under Assyrian control, others never were, but all retained enough individuality to influence considerably the later peoples.

[13] A governor of Carchemish occurs already in 691, Johns, *Deeds*, III. 228.

[14] A. 46 *ff.*

[15] N. 21. This inscription seems to have been erected especially to commemorate the fall of Carchemish. Cf. also XIV. 42 *ff.*; A. 49. As the Maganubba charter shows, actual work on Dur Sharrukin was begun in 714.

[16] Especially by Maspero, *Empires*, 240.

If Carchemish was actually destroyed after the siege, it did not long remain in ruins, for it had too important a situation. Sargon himself rebuilt portions, as we now know,[17] while under his successors it became, as the relative rank of its governors shows, one of the greatest cities in the empire. Even though many of its inhabitants had been deported, it still retained a large Hittite element, and this mixing with Mesopotamian and Aramaean elements, produced a new race of which we should gladly know more. In many ways this new race must have improved upon the old. In art, for example, if we can judge from the exquisite stele of the mother goddess.[18] We have here the same phenomenon which we see later in Asiatic or Egyptian art of the Greco-Roman period, the old religious conceptions preserved and reproduced, but with a temperance and a skill of technique which show superior artistic ability. As a center of commerce its influence was greatest. It is a significant proof of this, that, throughout the entire period of the later Assyrian empire, the most important commercial documents were reckoned according to the "mina of Carchemish."[19]

The fall of Carchemish put out of the way a dangerous enemy in the rear of the governor of Cilicia.[20] It was, there-

[17] The excavations carried on here in 1880 revealed a room in the northwest of the acropolis, where two large Hittite slabs were found *in situ*. Here were also found bricks built in bearing Sargon's name. These excavations have not, so far as I know, been further published, at least I know only the account in the *London Graphic*, Dec. 11, 1880, 582, abstracted also in Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Sardinia, etc.*, 1890, II. 279 *ff.*

[18] I owe my knowledge of this to a fine photograph taken by the Wolfe expedition to Babylonia, and loaned me by Professor Sterrett.

[19] Cf. Johns, *Expositor*, Nov., 1899, 398, and *Deeds*, II. 268 *ff.* He believes that this Carchemish mina of one half the Assyrian weight, was a sort of an actual coin.

[20] The reference in A. 372 to the governor of Que makes it probable that all these campaigns were under him.

fore, possible for another advance to be made here. The Tyana road was, for the time at least, passed over. Instead, an attempt was to be made (716),[21] directly on Iconium where Midas himself seems to have had his capital.[22] Midas called Rusash to his aid.[23] A battle was fought near the sea-coast, near the mouth of the Calycadnus, and Sargon claims the victory. As a result, several towns long held by Midas were conquered and added to the province.[24] But the main object, the gaining of the road to Iconium, was not secured.[25] The inhabitants of Cilicia Trachaea have always been wild and difficult to conquer, and so the war dragged on until at least 709.[26]

[21] The Annals has this under 715 but Prism B., if I have arranged it correctly, places it in 716.

[22] A battle where mountain and sea are close together must have been fought along the coast road to the southwest of Tarsus. If so, only two roads are possible. One would be the road which continues along the coast, around Cilicia Trachaea, and so to Pamphilia. This road is easily defended and little used and the villages along its line, even in Roman times, were probably of little importance. The other ran up the Calycadnus river along the line of the one Roman road through Cilicia Trachaea. At its end is one of the greatest cities of eastern Asia Minor, Iconium. If this really was the objective, who but Midas would be likely to hold it? Our data seem to indicate that Midas had his headquarters not far from the actual seat of operations. Our scanty notices of Phrygia in the Greek sources seem to bear this theory out. Iconium is the last town of Phrygia according to Xen., *Anab.*, I. 2. 19. Here also, according to Steph. Byz., *s. v. Ikonion*, and Suidas, *s. v. Nannakos*, ruled the prehistoric Phrygian king and hero Nannakos. If these mean anything at all, do they not imply a vague idea that Iconium once had been the capitol of Phrygia? If so, where is a better time than the one we are dealing with?

[23] So Prism B.

[24] The names of Harrua, Ushnanish, Ab-?-a-? are preserved. None have been identified.

[25] A. 92–94, 99–100. The Annals is badly mutilated here. Winckler, *Sargon*, XXV n.[5], connects C. 21, the pacification of Que.

[26] A. 372.

In 714[27] Sargon definitely took up the question of advance in this region. Once more, as in 718, the road through the Cilician Gates was taken. Matti of Tyana had recognized the real meaning of the Assyrian policy and had gone over to Midas.[28] He was now attacked and deposed.

Sargon moved on to the north and attacked the Tabal clan of Bit Buritash.[29] Here a certain Hulli had ruled in the days of Tiglath Pileser.[30] On his death Sargon recognized his son, Ambaris,[31] as his successor and, to bind him more closely to his cause, gave him his daughter, Ahatabisha.[32] He also granted to him Hilakku (Cilicia), which at this time was north of the Taurus, about where the later

[27] I have followed the date of Prism B. Annals gives one year later.

[28] Prism B. S. 2022 II Matti of Atuna trusted [Mita] the Muskian.

[29] The forms are Bit Buritash and Burutash. P. Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier*, 1898, 117, compares the Soruth and Voruth of Hübschmann's list, *Festgruss an Rudolf Roth*, 1893, 100, as well as the Uorodes of the Parthians. None are probable, and the possibility rests on the Iranian character of the Hittites. The location is clearly on the Tyana-Mazaka road and between the two, cf. the modern Bor. Winckler, *Forsch.*, II. 121, makes Bit Buritash to have the hegemony over all Tabal. This is unlikely.

[30] Clay inscription, Rev. 15.—For Hulli names, cf. Johns, *Deeds*, III. 460. Halévy, *Rev. Sémitique*, 1893, 132, compares the Ollis of the inscriptions and Olymbros, "Ol is king," found, however, not in Hesychius, but in Steph. Byz., *s. v.*, Adana. Cf. the Ol names of Asia Minor cities. Jensen, *Hittiter*, 116, identifies it with the Glak of Hübschmann's list, but a reference to the introduction prefixed to the translation of Zenob of Glag in V. Langlois, *Historiens de l'Arménie*, 1880, I. 335, shows that Glag is not Armenian at all.

[31] The name occurs as Ambaris, Amris, Ambaridi. Jensen, *op. cit.*, 82, finds here two separate stems. The real name is Am-ba-ri-is. In Amris, the sign *ba* was omitted by mistake. In Ambaridi, the *di* is simply *is* with the last half of the *ri* repeated by dittography. Professor Sterrett compares the place name Ambar Arasü.

[32] So Winckler, *Forsch.*, I. 365 n.[2]. Ahat abisha is a princess of Tabal who sends news to Sargon through her steward, K. 181. She would now be queen mother.

strategeia of Cilicia was situated,[83] although it is quite possible that he simply gave him the privilege of conquering it, if he could.

The royal lady seems to have been unable to keep her husband true. He, too, went over to Midas and Rusash.[84] But, as usual, they proved broken reeds to lean upon, for Ambaris was captured and carried off with all his father's house. One hundred chariots were impressed into the royal army, the leading citizens were deported, and prisoners from other quarters settled in their place. Then, after Tabal had been thoroughly ravaged, a governor was placed over it, and the country was made an Assyrian province.[85]

This campaign had opened up the Tarsus-Tyana-Mazaka road to the Halys River, which would thus form the northern boundary of the province to be established. Along the west,

[83] The identity of Hilakku with Cilicia is proved by the coins bearing the legend HLK issued by the Persian satraps of Cilicia, cf. B. Head, *Historia Nummorum*, 1887, 613.—For the earlier location of Cilicia north of the Taurus, see Herod. I. *72*; V. 52; Strabo XIV. 5. *24*, and cf. the note by Niese, in Jensen, *Hittiter*, 195 *f.* For the later strategeia of Cilicia, in Cappadocia, cf. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, 303. Its location is well shown by K. 11490 = Knudtzon 60 where the Tabalai and Hilikai are about to invade Que, the Cilicia of later times. It is not necessary with Winckler, *Forsch.*, II. *12*, to assume a former Assyrian conquest of Cilicia. Rulers often give away what they do not possess.

[84] According to the Assyrian scribe, Rusash had been dead a year. Does this mention of him here imply a slip on the part of the scribe, betraying what we know from Haldian sources, the fact that Rusash was still alive?

[85] A. 168 *ff.*; D. 29 *ff.*—What *Bit Buritash sha Bit Akukanina* means is not clear.—Winckler, *Forsch.*, I. 366, believes that the new province was not united to Que. But such a connection of Cilicia, which belongs rather to Syria than to Asia Minor, with a legion across the Taurus is against the analogy drawn from later history. It is true that we have no mention of such a province elsewhere, but this is not strange, for the Assyrian holdings in Cappadocia seem to have been soon lost.

Lake Tatta would serve as a boundary, but to the south of that the ground would be debatable. To the east, the Euphrates would naturally be taken, for Haldia had now withdrawn behind that river. Thus the new province could be given, on nearly every side, a boundary which might be truly called "scientific." It was to the securing of this frontier that the operations of the next year were directed.

The greater part of this coveted territory was known as Kammanu. Its name was derived, no doubt, from the old sacred city of Comana, which was situated in the bare desert cleft in the western part of this region.[36] At present, the capital was Meliddu, which has always been, both as the classical Melitene and the Malatia of modern times, the center of a great road-complex and therefore a position of importance.[37] Some time before this, a certain Gunzinanu had been deposed,[38] and Tarhunazi had taken his place.[39]

[36] The earliest reference to Kammanu is to be found, with Winckler, *Gesch.*, 246, in the Qumani of Tiglath Pileser I, *Prism*, V. 82. Since Delattre, *L'Asie*, 65, this has been seen to be connected with Comana. Winckler and Billerbeck on their maps confine Kammanu to the region about Comana. If Meliddu really is the capital of Kammanu, then it must have extended much further to the east. While Comana has not easy communications with the east, still the extension of the name would be in this direction rather than to the west where we have the huge Mt. Argaeus completely blocking the way, as Professor Sterrett points out to me.

[37] Meliddu is the Milidia of Tiglath Pileser I, *Prism* V. 34. For the Greek Melitene, see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, 313; for the Haldian *Helita*, Sayce, XXXIII, 16, etc.; for the Arab Malatiyah, Le Strange, *East. Caliph.*, 120; for recent change of site, J. R. S. Sterrett, *Epigraphical Journey*, 1888, 300.—83-1-18, 41 = H. 375, also Harper, *Amer. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, 1897, is a horse tablet from Nabu shum iddin, and refers to horses from the land of Melitai.

[38] Jensen, *op. cit.*, compares the Kuntsik of Hübschmann's list, 105, and, for the latter part, the -nesis in Syennesis, etc.

[39] Cf. the Tarhunazi of K. 301 = J. 308, who lived in the reign of Ashur bani pal. The first part is clearly the god Tarhu. For the Greek

Sargon had recognized, if not encouraged, the change, and had added some lands. When Ambaris revolted, Tarhunazi seems to have followed his example, at least so far as to withhold his tribute. The advance on Meliddu seems to have been made from Amida as a base. Kammanu was devastated and the capital taken. Tarhunazi fled westward to his strong fortress of Tulgarimmu, the Biblical Togormah,[40] where he was besieged and forced to surrender. He was cast into chains, and, with wife, children, and five thousand troops, carried off to Ashur, where the party was settled.[41]

The required lines had now been secured, at least after a fashion, and the subjugation of the less important interior might be left to time. The frontier itself needed fortification. First Tulgarimmu was rebuilt with Meliddu. Then three forts were erected on the west against Midas, two on the north as protection against the barbarians, and five along the Euphrates on the Haldian frontier.[42] The space thus

Tarko names, cf. Sachau, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, 1892, 90 *ff.*; for a connection with the Biblical Terah, Jensen, *ib.*, 1892, 70; for the Kashshite Turgu, Hilprecht, *ib.*, 1892, 317 n. Nazi is frequent in Kashshite, Hilprecht, *l. c.*, cf. also Tarmanazi, Tiglath Pileser III, A. 144. Jensen, *Hittiter*, 202, curiously enough, refuses to see Hittite names at all in Tarhunazi and Tarhulara.

[40] Halévy, *Rev. Critique*, 1881, 483, has made this identification and it has generally been followed. Professor Sterrett points out to me that Derende, the classical Dalanda, cf. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, 309, where we have a fine and almost impregnable castle of later date, see Sterrett, *Epig. Jour.*, 301, would be a fine site. It would be on a natural line up the Tokhma Su,—Professor Sterrett himself followed this road,—is due west of Melitene, and is on the way to, and not far from, Gurun, the classical Guraina, cf. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, 309, the Guriana of the letters, Sayce, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1903, 148. Winckler and Billerbeek, on their maps, place Tulgarimmu at Gurun itself.

[41] A. 178 *ff.*; D. 78 *ff.*

[42] The location of these forts is very important, as by their aid we can gain a very definite idea of the boundary at this time. Usi, the Uesi

enclosed, a wedge thrust forward between Haldia and Phrygia, was made a province under the usual forms of administration and settled by captives from various parts of the empire, the last instalment of Sute not arriving until after the capture of Babylon (710).[48]

of the letters, is probably the Euaissai, Avisai of *Notitiae* III, X, XIII, quoted Ramsay, *op. cit.*, 283, the Euaisse of the Notitia published by Gelzer, *München Abhandl. Philos.-phil. Classe*, 1901, 551, and the Euaisenoi to whom Basil of Caesarea sent Epistle CCLI. Cf. also the Uschi of the Holy Legend, Jan. 31, quoted by Mordtmann, *Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morg. Gesell.*, 1877, 423. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, 305 identifies it with Yogounnes. This is rather far north of the Halys, but is not entirely out of the question. The Usi-ilu of Winckler's edition should be read Usian, the Uasaun of K. 181. It is clearly the Osiana of the Antonine Itinerary, 206. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, 295, sees in the name only a corruption of Soanda which he places at Nev Sheher. But Kiepert, both in his wall map of Asia Minor, 1888, and in his *Atlas Antiquus*, places Osiana to the northwest of Soanda, and this separate existence seems to be proved by this Assyrian form. In Uargin, we probably have a form akin to Argaios or Argos, Steph. Byz., *s. v.*, which Ramsay, *op. cit.*, 353, believes to be the word for mountain in the native dialect. I would locate this, not at the better known Mt. Argaios, the present Arjish, but rather in the Mt. Argaios, the modern Hassan Dagh, southeast of Lake Tatta. This would be half way between Tyana and Osiana and would furnish a very good frontier line. I cannot make any suggestion as to the two forts, Ellibir and Shindarara, erected on the north boundary. On the east boundary, the Euphrates must have been between the new province and Haldia. Luhsu might be the Leugaisa of Ptol. V. 6. 21, but this is inland and to the southwest of Melitene. I rather prefer Dagusa of the same section which was on the Euphrates and north of Melitene. Delta for lambda is a common error, while a guttural g would naturally be represented in Assyrian by h. It is only fair to state, however, that Dagusa may be an error for Daskusa. Budir, Anmurru, and Anduarsalia are unknown. With the place Ki—, we may compare the Kiakis of Ptol., *l. c.*, the Ciaca XVIII m. p. north of Melitene of the Antonine Itinerary. Uargin is identified with Guraina by Jensen, *Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morg. Gesell.*, 1894, 471, and Winckler, *Forsch.*, II. 135, but there is no phonetic basis, and Guraina must be reserved for Guriana.

[48] Jensen, *Rec. de Trav.*, 1896, 116, restores A. 195 *a]di (mat) nagi [sha limitsu ana] Mutallu Qummuhai addin*, "with the surrounding

The next year an opportunity came for securing the most important site in the interior still unconquered. At Mar-

regions, I gave to Mutallu of Qummuh." The *addin*, "I gave" is extremely doubtful on the original; in fact, no definite reading can be given. The use of *addin* can therefore only be defended by appealing to its naturalness in the light of other events. But it is very unlikely that Sargon gave land to one who is so clearly an enemy as Mutallu. It is more probable that the Mutallu began a new paragraph, the remainder of which was on the lost slab between A. 195 and A. 196, cf. Winckler, *Sargon*, 33 n.—In the text, I have followed what seems the natural order of events. According to this view, Meliddu is the capital of Kammanu. Gunzinanu, the former king, A. 188 *ff.*; D. 83, according to whose quota the new province was taxed, seems to have been the predecessor of Tarhunazi. According to XIV. 9–10; P. IV. 23–27, he was deposed and carried off from Meliddu, his royal city. This is probably true. The further statement, however, that a governor was appointed, cannot stand in the face of A. 180 *f.*, where it is said that he granted this land to Tarhunazi. Winckler, *Sargon*, XXIX, on the other hand, argues that Tarhunazi, ruler of Meliddu, drove out Gunzinanu of Kammana and annexed Kammanu to Meliddu. In this, he is followed by Maspero, *Empires*, 252 n. 1, and Rogers, *History*, II. 168. Yet Winckler still translates A. 180 as before, *Forsch.*, II. 132, and this states that Sargon himself deposed Gunzinanu and placed Tarhunazi on the vacant throne. Nor do I see that D. 83 and A. 189 to which he appeals, prove his case. They simply prove that there was an earlier king, Gunzinanu. But it is the use of the place names which is most troublesome, if we accept Winckler's theory. We would then have Meliddu, which is always a city, not a country, the capital (A., 183) of an unknown land, ruled by Tarhunazi, while a land of Kammanu has no known capital, and for king we must take Gunzinanu who is distinctly said to be an earlier king. It assumes that the accounts in XIV and P. IV are entirely wrong and that that in A. is half incorrect. This may be true, but we demand some evidence as well as a consideration of the facts mentioned above.—The conquests in this region were only temporary and perhaps were largely swept away by the barbarian wars at the close of the reign. Already in his fifth campaign, Sennacherib was forced again to destroy Tulgarimmu, *Constantinople Ins.*, 19. No eponym of Meliddu is known, but Assyria seems to have held it till the later days of Esarhaddon, when, as we learn from the prayers to the sun god, Knudtzon 54 *ff.*, it passed into the hands of Mugallu of Tabal.

qasi,[44] the modern Mar'ash, the Hittite ruler, Tarhulara,[45] had been murdered by his anti-Assyrian son, Mutallu. Sargon, however, took him prisoner,—armies could easily be concentrated on him from several sides,[46]—and carried him off with all the tribe of Bit Pa'alla and much booty. Gurgume,[47] from which Tarhulara had come, was rebuilt, and an Assyrian governor installed in Marqasi.[48]

[44] A governor of Marqasi is known in 682, and in 680, Johns, *Deeds*; II. 136. For the classical Germaniceia, cf. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, 297. In later times, it became Mar'ash, the change from qoph to 'ain being, as Mr. B. B. Charles points out to me, fairly common in certain dialects of the Syrian Arabic of to-day. The form Mersin is common among the writers on the Crusades but a curious instance of survival of the older form with qoph is to be found in Anna Comnena, XI. 329; XIII. 413 where a genitive Markeos occurs. The editors of the *Rec. de l'Hist. des Croisades, Hist. Grec.*, II. 59 have rightly seen that it was connected with Mar'ash, but probably were unaware of the Assyrian form.

[45] The first part is Tarhu, cf. n. 39. For the second, Jensen, *Hittiter*, 224, compares the Mongerlaris of Heberdey and Wilhelm, *Abhandl.* of Vienna Academy, 1896, 138 *ff.* I was inclined to identify the name with the Tourkoleis of Sachau, *op. cit.*, 99, but a reference to the original inscription, no. LXXV, of Hicks, *Jour. of Hellen. Studies*, 1891, shows that we really have Toukoleis. The *rho* is probably merely a misreading of the division line in the transliteration.

[46] From Melitene, Samosata, Samal, Carchemish, Tarsus, all of which were in the hands of Assyria. This shows how necessary it was to take the country which lay in the center of the half circle.

[47] Gurgume already appears in the *Monolith*, I. 40, II. 84, of Shalmaneser II. It is then ruled by an earlier Mutallu. For an exhaustive account of the Arabic Gurgume, see Sachau, *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1892, 329 *ff.* Sachau there compares the GRGM of the Panammu inscription. The identity with Mar'ash seems to have been independently discovered by Tomkins, *Bab. Orient. Record*, III. 3, and Sachau, *op. cit.*, 313. Professor Sterrett suggests that we may have a trace of the root in Gulgurum, the classical Gorgorome, near Fassiler where Hittite remains are found.

[48] In the text, the version of A. 208 *ff.*; D. 83 *ff.* is followed. According to XIV. 10; P. IV. 28; B. 26; Tarhulara was deposed directly by Sargon and Gurgume is at once made a province. This does not

In the next years, probably 711–709, the final pacification of Que proper was accomplished by its governor. In three expeditions[49] the infantry penetrated the Taurus, took two fortresses situated on hilltops and made twenty-four hundred prisoners. Of these, nearly a thousand were carried the whole length of the empire from Que to the king, as he lay encamped at Irma'mi in Elam.[50] To take their place other Assyrian subjects were settled.[51] But it now began to be seen that a crossing of Cilicia Trachaea was impracticable, and the advance was stopped. It is even probable that some sort of an understanding with Midas was arrived at, for in no other way can we explain the "tribute" Sargon claims to have received from him.[52]

necessarily conflict with the other, for, if Mutallu deposed his father at Assyrian suggestion, Sargon would claim it. But Mutallu would seem to represent the anti-Assyrian party. Then we can explain Sargon's boast only in the light of the usual tendency of the Assyrians to "claim everything in sight." I think that this Mutallu was not the same as the Mutallu of Qummuh, although I know the reverse may be argued. Winckler restores A. 209 (V) "Hull[i Mut]tallu his son." What can this possibly mean?—For the fact of Hittite occupation, cf. the well-known Mar'ash lion with the Hittite inscription. Here is probably to be placed 82–3–23, 131, published and translated, Winckler, *Forsch.*, II. 570 *ff.* Winckler has seen that the second part refers to the Ashdod revolt. He places the first part in Armenia, but the relation to the Ashdod revolt account seems rather to refer to our own events. The mountain top like a dagger point where the cliff fort Azaqa was situated may as well be found in Asia Minor. Azaka has a "Hittite" sound and if we compare Cæsarea Mazaka, we may place the mountain top at the nearby Mt. Argaios.

[49] A. 373, cf. Winckler, *op. cit.*, II. 133.

[50] A. 378. K. 833 = J. 1099 seems to belong here. It is a report of various classes of captives who have been brought from Que. The total is 976, as against the 1000 of the Annals, a better showing for accuracy than we should expect.

[51] K. 3061 = J. 743 shows that Assyrian colonists were settled in Que probably at this time.

[52] A. 379 *ff.* A governor of Que in 685, Johns, *Deeds*, II. 137.

At about the same time or perhaps a little later,[53] trouble broke out on the extreme north, where Mutallu of Qummuh, a land situated somewhat to the north of the later Commagene,[54] had abandoned friendly relations with Sargon and gone over to Argishtish, who had recently succeeded Rusash in Haldia. The governor of the new province invaded his country, took some of his fortresses and much booty, and even some of his family. But Mutallu himself simply retired to the wild mountains nearby. The lowland regions were settled by captives from Bit Iakin, to which place the Qummuh men were in their turn deported.[55] This seems to

[53] The exact date is uncertain. In both Rm. 2, 97 and II R. 69, we have a campaign against Qummuh under 708, and this is the more probable date. Winckler, *Sargon*, XLI, has shown that a date cannot be inserted before the Qummuh campaign in the Annals. The date in that document would then be 709. If there were a real question of date, we should prefer that of the chronological documents. In reality, we are probably to see here a series of guerilla wars, extending over several years. Cf. the mention of Mutallu of Qummuh in A. 195 under 712.

[54] Qummuh occurs already in the time of Tiglath Pileser I, *Prism*, I. 59. The connection with the classical Commagene is generally recognized. In these days, it seems to have been further north. Its site at this time seems to be marked by the fortress of Kamacha, Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, 448. This is the Kamakh of the Arabs, Le Strange, *East. Caliph.*, 118. It might be objected that an Assyrian qoph can hardly be represented by the Arabic kaph. But the Assyrian qoph is properly transliterated by the Greek kappa, while this is again represented correctly, if the Arabic form came directly from the Greek and not from the native form.—Mutallu also occurs on the *Monolith* of Shalmaneser II, I. 40. We cannot with Sachau, *l. c.*, and Johns, *Deeds*, III. 458, compare the Motales of Hicks, *op. cit.*, 27, 40 for Heberdey and Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, no 155, show this to be a misreading. Jensen, *op. cit.*, 223, compares the Moutalaske of the *Vita Sabæ*, cited by Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, 295.

[55] The list of tribute is instructive. It included horses, mules, asses, camels, herds and flocks, gold, silver, various cloths, elephants' hides, ivory, *ushu* and *ukarinu* wood, the treasures of his palace, and his royal throne. The mention of camels and elephants in this locality is

be the high-water mark of Assyrian influence in this region. Before the end of the reign the Iranians began to come in and the frontier receded.[56]

In connection with affairs on this frontier, we may note the Assyrian relations with Cyprus. Here the Greeks had gradually been settling until by now they seem to have gained control of the greater part of the island. They naturally, as enemies of the Phoenicians in the island, were inclined to be friendly with the Assyrians who had already secured control of the Phoenicians on the mainland. No doubt, too, Midas had tried to conquer the Greeks along the coast, as the Lydians tried later, and enmity to him would again make them favorable to Sargon. On the other hand, the Assyrians had no fleet, and so there was little danger of conquest from them. Furthermore, friendship with the great empire would mean commercial privileges throughout the whole of its provinces, and the Greeks would not forget this. We can therefore well understand why, when Sargon was still in Babylon, probably after his return from the extreme south (709),[57] he received an embassy and presents,

curious. Were camels used for caravans? It is well known that large numbers of beautiful rugs are still made at home in Asia Minor. Does the mention of these various cloths point to home manufacture of such a sort at this time?

We learn further of this production of cloth in K. 125 = H. 196, Johns, *Laws*, 345, which dates about 708, cf. chap. VIII. The heads of Qummuh have come to Kalhu where they are lodged in the house reserved for that nation. They bear tribute, seven mares of mules each and fruit as well as cloth and seven talents, apparently some sort of a tax on that product. They are discontented at present conditions, say their produce has decreased under present circumstances, and wish the work to be under the direction of the royal weavers.

[56] A. 372 *ff.*, D. 112 *ff.*

[57] A. 388. The order of the Annals calls for 709. Maspero, *Empires*, 260, and Rogers, *History*, 178 prefer 708, while Winckler, *Sargon*, XL advocates 710.

gold and silver,—it is curious that we have no mention of the copper which received its name from the island,—*ushu* and *ukarinu* woods, from the land of Ia',[58] a region[59] of Iatnana, as the Assyrians named Cyprus.[60] In return, Sar-

[58] The land Ia' should be compared with the Cilician names of Sachau, *op. cit.*, 1891, 81, Iazamos and Ianbies where Ia is a god, Jensen, *Hittiter*, 126. Johns, *Deeds*, III. 122, compares the witness Ia-ai of K. 422 = J. 75.

[59] The Assyrian for "region" is Nage. Winckler, *Sargon*, XL n. 6, makes Ia'nage a folk etymology from an Ionikoi, or, as modified, *Forsch.*, I. 367 n. 1, for Ionike. No form of Ionian occurs in any of the Cypriote inscriptions in Collitz, *Sammlung der griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*, I. 1884, or in any of the Semitic inscriptions from Cyprus given in the *Corpus*. Pape's *Handwörterbuch* does not give a single instance where Ionikoi is used for Iones or where Ionike is used for Ionia. I have indeed found a statement in Steph. Byz. *s. v. Ionia*, to the effect that Ionikoi is a form used of natives of Ionia, but a reference to his use of Ionikoi as applied to the Illyrians, *s. v. Ias*, seems to show that its use for Iones is the result of a confusion. I therefore doubt if Ionikoi was ever used for Iones or Ionike for Ionia. If so used, it must have been very rare, since no certain trace is left. Winckler's clever conjecture is accordingly not supported by Hellenic usage. But there is a more serious objection. In all forms of the root, a digamma was felt as the Hebrew Javan, Arabic Yunani, Sanskrit Iavana show. This digamma was felt in Cypriote, as their inscriptions indicate. In Assyrian, as the name of the Ashdod leader, Iamani, shows, this *w* sound, as usual, was represented by *m*. It is difficult to believe, at least I know of no examples to prove it, that the sign which represents the lost guttural sounds in Assyrian could stand for a digamma. If it could, it ought to appear before, not after, the *a* which I suppose Winckler would make correspond to the *o* of Ionikes-Ionike.

[60] The form Atnana is probably merely a scribal error, the *Ia* before *at* being lost through similarity of signs, Sachau, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr*, 1888, 112. Perhaps Cheyne, *Ency. Biblica. art. Javan*, is right in thinking that the explanation "Ionian island" is mere folk etymology. It is even more probable that there is no actual connection between it and Iones. Oppert, *Literatur-Blatt für Orient. Philologie*, III. 82 *ff.* identifies the word with Itanus, a place in eastern Crete. While this is impossible, the agreement in names may perhaps indicate that the inhabitants of Crete before the coming of either Phœnician or Greek were of the same Eteocretic race as those in Cyprus.

gon sent to Cyprus the splendid "image of his majesty," which is now in Berlin.[61] The Greeks of Cyprus continued to keep in friendly relation with succeeding kings, and once in a while sent presents. To the end, however, they retained their independence and Assyria never really ruled the island.[62]

[61] S. 43–47. Cf. chap. I, n. 41.

[62] A. 383 *ff.*; D. 145 *ff.*; S. 28 *ff.*—In A., we seem to have tribute held back, an overthrow of the rebels, and a governor appointed. This seems to be only a case of formula. D. and S., the latter to be read in Cyprus itself, content themselves with the mere report of the royal power as cause for the tribute. A few lines further we have a passage, not translated by Winckler, of some interest. The context cannot be made out but we have mention of a man named ?-il-da-?-qu-ra-ai, A. 383 (V), of a city Ma(?)-?-na, A. 385 (V), and of another person called I-da-[. . . a]i, A. 387 (II). The first is without doubt a name ending in -agoras, the most common of all Cypriote personal endings. Compare, in Collitz, *op. cit.*, Evagoras (Ewvakoro), Aristagoras (Arisitakorau), Pnytagoras (Punu . . .), Pasagoras (Pasakorani), Cypragoras (Kupurakorao), Onasagoras (Onasakorau). It is interesting to note that the Assyrian agrees with the Cypriote in changing the *g* to a *k* or *q*. I do not know what to make of the first part. Perhaps the first sign is *pa*. Parthagoras is then possible. Of course, this is mere conjecture. The city Ma(?)-?-na I do not know. The I-da-[. . . a]i I should make "the man from Idalion, a city which occurs on both Phœnician and Cypriote inscriptions.—Any attempt to further work out the general relations of the Greeks must be very hazardous. The reference to the Iamnai in C. 21 is not at all clear. We there learn that Sargon dragged them from the sea with a net (?) like fish from the midst of the sea and pacified Que and Çurri (Tyre). If the translation is correct here, we may compare the "netting" *saganeuein* of Persian times. As C. is a display inscription, it is not very probable that the references to the Iamnai are to be taken in connection with those of Tyre and Que. For the same reason, it is not sure that these passages are anything more than an idle boast. Winckler, *Forsch.*, I. 360 *ff.*, places here the passages from Euseb. *Chron., ed. Schöne*, I. 27, 35. The former is quoted from Alexander Polyhistor, the latter from Abydenus, but both go back to Berossus and are nearly identical. According to these, the Iones made war with Sennacherib. They were defeated, in a naval battle, according to Abydenus.

Sennacherib then erected a monument and founded Tarsus. This monument is clearly the one at Anchiale, generally attributed to Sardanapallos (Ashur bani pal), cf. *e. g.,* Suidas, *s. v. Sardanapallus,* while Tarsus existed at least as early as Shalmaneser II. From the time of Sennacherib on, the account of Berossus is fairly full and, where it can be tested, as trustworthy as can be expected. There is, however, no reason to suppose that his sources were less full for Sargon or Tiglath Pileser III than for Sennacherib or Nebuchadnezzar. The only reason why we do not have this section is that the Christian excerptors did not think it of value as illustrating Biblical history. Have we, then, the right to take an event which two different versions agree in giving to Sennacherib and assign it to Sargon? Certainly not. Why should we assign a naval battle to Sargon? There is no proof that he had a navy or knew its value. The one Assyrian ruler who did understand the value of sea power was, as everybody knows, Sennacherib, and why a naval battle, ascribed to him by a double line of tradition, should be taken away from him, I cannot see. While, however, there can be no doubt that Sennacherib is correctly named as the victor, there is a question in my mind as to the correctness of the name given to the vanquished. Berossus, the Babylonian, would be unlikely to make a mistake as to which one of the rulers of his own country won a great battle in the western seas, but he might well become confused as to just which western power it was. In his own days, the Greeks were all-powerful, and he may have been led to give them the same place in the west in earlier times. But the good relations between Greeks and Assyrians,—for there is no inscriptional proof that the two peoples ever came into actual conflict,—hardly allow us to place a war with them here. If not the Greeks, then who? The answer may be found in the list of thalassocracies, or periods of sea power, held by the various peoples, in Euseb. *Chron.,* 225. Winckler, *Forsch.,* II. 288 *ff.,* assigns the Cypriote period to about 700–677, and I think he is correct. He also rightly assumes that this rise of the Cypriote power was due to the union with Assyria. If so, then this means that the Greeks and Assyrians must have put down the naval power of the people which last held the supremacy at sea. But these were the Phrygians! Is not all now clear? Sargon warred with Midas by land. The Cypriote Greeks, as noted above, would be natural enemies of Midas as well as of the Phoenicians. Union with Assyria was therefore natural. Sargon did not see the value of friendly relations with Cyprus any more than he did that of Uperi of Tilmun in the Persian Gulf. His successor saw the need of Assyrian control of the seas. We have his own account of his operations on the Persian Gulf. Midas had been checked by Sargon on land. Sennacherib

ruined his power at sea, aided, of course, by the Cypriote fleet. The control of the sea would then naturally pass from the Phrygians to the Cypriotes. This working out seems to be only the logical result of Winckler's own discussion of the thalassocracies. We may presume, therefore, that he has abandoned his earlier views, *Forsch.*, I. 360 *ff.* Other views in Schrader, *Sitzungsber*, of Berlin Academy, 1890, 340 *ff.*; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 248; Maspero, *Empires*, 260, 284.—Kition is the place where the stele was found and is therefore the most important place in the island. It is the Qartihadasti of Esarhaddon's Broken Cyl. V. 19 *ff.* and the QRTHShT of the Baal Lebanon inscription. For this Cypriote Carthage, cf. *Corpus Ins. Semit.*, I. 26, 98; Schrader, *op. cit.*, 339; Jastrow, *Proc. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, 1890, LXX *ff.* In the above mentioned inscription of Esarhaddon, Idalion occurs as Edi'al. The forms Pilagura (Pythagoras) and Unasagusu (Onisagoras) are less close to the Cypriote form than are our forms.

CHAPTER V

THE ARMENIAN WARS

As we have already seen, one of the antagonists most to be feared by Assyria was Rusash of Haldia. His attempts to regain the lost Haldian conquests west of the Euphrates have been noted in the last chapter. In this, we shall see the efforts of Sargon to bring the war directly home to him.[1]

When Sargon turned his attention to affairs on this part of his frontier, in 719, he found a good base for attack in the large and important tribe of the Mannai who lived to the southeast of Haldia.[2] As next-door neighbors to that power, they naturally threw in their lot with Assyria. At this time their chief was Iranzu, who seems to have been devoted to his Assyrian ally. To the south of the Mannai

[1] For discussion of Haldian affairs in general, see chapter II.

[2] The Mannai are among the most important tribes of this region. References in the letters and other documents are frequent. Their location is somewhat indefinite, probably because they covered a large area, which shifted more or less at various times. In general, they were allied with the Assyrians. A large part, as their names would seem to show, were Iranian, yet other parts seem to be akin to the Haldians. They seem later to have been confused with the Madai. Note that our Daiukku of Mannai founds the Median empire according to Herodotus. Hommel, *Gesch.*, 598, 713, n. 3, and Schrader, *Sitzungsber.*, of Berlin Academy, 1890, 331, place them in the region between the Araxes and Lake Urmia. This may be true so far as it goes, but they certainly came further south. The same may be said of their location to the northwest of the lake by Streck, *Zeitsch. f. Assyr.*, 1899, 143, and Sayce, *Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 1882, 497. Winckler, *Gesch.*, 200, places them to the west, Billerbeck, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, III. 139, to the southwest, and Belck, *Verhandl. Berl. Anthrop. Gesellsch.*, 1894, 479, to the southwest and southeast. This last is seemingly correct.

lay Zikirtu,[3] whose chief, Mittatti, just as naturally allied himself with Rusash against the Mannai. While Sargon, or at least his armies, were engaged elsewhere, Mittatti persuaded two of the Mannai towns, Shuandahuh and Durdukka,[4] to revolt against Iranzu, and sent a garrison to hold them. Iranzu appealed to Sargon, and Sargon sent an army. So well garrisoned were they that a regular siege with siege engines was needed to capture them. When taken, they were burned and their inhabitants deported.[5] At about the same time, the three neighboring towns of Sukkia, Bala, and Abitekna were captured and the people carried off to Syria.[6]

Again, in 717, there were disturbances in this region, as the Papa and Lallukna[7] were ravaging the friendly land of Kakme.[8] They were conquered and deported to Damascus.

[3] The identification of Zikirtu with the Persian clan of the Sagartioi, Herod. I. 125, is generally accepted. It was near to Mannai on the south, yet was passed by the Assyrians in going to Muçaçir. I should therefore place it southeast of Muçaçir, about at Pasava. Billerbeck's map places its capital, Parda, at Marand, northeast of Lake Urmia.

[4] These places must be north of Zikirtu, about east of the Kelishin Pass. The Durdukka of A. is the Zurzukka of D.. With the latter, Winckler, *Sargon*, XX, n. 1, compares Zurzua of Ptol. V. 12. 7. He might also have compared the Zaruana of the same section. But both are too far north to make an identification probable.

[5] A. 32 *ff.*; D. 48.

[6] A. 40 *ff.*; D. 57; XIV. 30; C. 28. The passages in D. and C. at first seem to indicate that they, with the Papa and Lallukna, annoyed Kakme and were therefore carried off to Damascus. This is the view of Streck, *op. cit.*, 132. But this is merely the usual merging due to geographical contiguity. The real order is given in A.

[7] The form Pappa seems due to confusion with Pappa-Paphos of Cyprus. The normal form is therefore not Pappa, as Streck, *op. cit.*, 133, but Papa.

[8] Streck, *op. cit.*, 132, translates the very doubtful passage C. 28 = A. 51 "welche gegen dasselbe ganz öffentlich Pläne geschmiedet hatten." This would make the deportation the result of depredations committed by the highland tribes on the lowlanders, the pro-Assyrian people of

About this time the Mannai themselves went over to Haldia. Iranzu, the friend of Assyria, died, or to use the more picturesque Assyrian expression, "his fate came upon him." His son and successor, Aza,[9] was also a "lover of the yoke of Ashur." The "yoke of Ashur," however, was anything but light, and Rusash, who had already made trouble for Assyria,[10] persuaded the commons to strike for liberty. Perhaps we may see in it a revolt of the Aryans against the older race for the new ruler. Bagdatti[11] of Uishdish[12] bears an Iranian name, and was supported by

Kakme. But, on this assumption, how can we explain N. 9, "who shook the breast of Kakme, men who were hostile and wicked"? This inscription dates to within a year of the actual events and is therefore worthy of a certain belief, even if only a display inscription. In this latter passage, Streck takes *mutaqin* with the clause just noted. But this is entirely contrary to the usage of these display inscriptions where the participle precedes the noun it governs. Does A. 51 point to a treacherous understanding between the Papa and Lallukna and certain officials of the palace?

[9] Johns, *Doomsday Book*, 46, notes an Azi baal and an Azi ilu and therefore makes Aza a Semite. But the large number of Iranian names beginning with Aza fully justifies Justi, *Namenbuch, s. v.*, in placing Aza among them.

[10] In 719 according to Prism B. Cf. note below on chronology.

[11] The first part of the name Bagdatti is clearly Baga, "god," the latter comes from the word "to give." We have therefore an exact parallel in Iranian to the Greek Theodotus, cf. Mithridates. Accordingly, we cannot accept the theory of Jensen, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, 1893, 378, that Datti is a god, nor that of Johns, *Doomsday Book*, 40, who compares a Bagdadi and sees in the second part the well-known Semitic love deity.

[12] D. 37, 49 reads (mat)U-ish-di-ish-ai. Winckler takes the first *ish* as *mil*. But *ish* is the common value of this sign in Assyrian and the only value in Haldian. We should therefore read Uishdish. In XIV. 47 the first *ish* is merely dropped out, while in A. 110, U-e-di-ish, the *e* is an easy error for *ish*, as Winckler sees. Streck, *op. cit.*, 140, 146, compares the Ishdish of Tiglath Pileser I, *Prism* II. 68, 78, read Mildish by Budge and King. He places it, *op. cit.*, 146, southwest of the Mannai and south of Lake Van on the very doubtful assumption that

Mitatti of Zikirtu. Aza was deposed and his dead body exposed on Mount Uaush. His reign, too, was short, for the Assyrians took him alive, flayed him, and exposed his bleeding form on this same Mount Uaush.[13]

He was succeeded by Ullusunu, the brother of Aza,[14] who had thus a legitimate claim to the throne. Whether placed on the throne by the Assyrians or not,[15] he soon saw that Rusash was the nearer and more dangerous foe. He therefore made his peace with Haldia and handed over, probably not without compulsion, twenty-two towns as proof of his good faith. As a result of his defection from Assyria, Ashur liu[16] of Karalla,[17] and Itti of Allabria[18] followed his example.

the Aruma of Uishdish is the Arua of Kirhu. We should rather place it among the Mannai and near Zikirtu, that is somewhere east of Kelishin Pass and south of Lake Urmia. Cf. also the Ashdiash of Ashur bani pal, *Cyl.* B., III. 34.

[13] D. 37 adds the (amel) (mat) Misiandai to Bagdatti and Mitatti as instigators of the revolt. Who he was, we do not know. We should probably see in the second part Andia, cf. below, Hommel, *Gesch.*, 713 n. Is Misi the name of the man? The scribe has clearly made an error here. The "governors" of A. may refer to these men or to the Mannai chieftains. The former is the more probable.—Maspero, *Empires*, 240, greatly exaggerates the importance of Mitatti in this revolt.

[14] Ullusunu is generally taken to be the son of Iranzu and brother of Aza, for it is to the latter that it seems we should refer the *ahishu*, "his brother," of A. 57. Streck, *op. cit.*, 135 refers this to Bagdatti and makes him the brother of Ullusunu and son of Aza, but this is very unlikely. No stress can be laid on D. 39, "on the throne of his father," for this is merely a formal statement. XIV. 53, "Ullusunu on the throne of Aza established himself," shows no recognition of Bagdatti as regular ruler.

[15] Tiele, *Gesch.*, 262 n. 1, does not think Sargon had anything to do with the accession of Ullusunu. In XIV. 53, usheshibu may be a first as well a third person.

[16] On the basis of his Assyrian name, "Ashur is mighty," Winckler, *Gesch.*, 241 n., suggests that he may have been a revolted Assyrian

All these events seem to have taken place in 717, if not earlier.[19] Now, in 716, a new expedition was sent out, seemingly under the Nabuhashadua, whose report on the affairs of Ashur liu and Ullusunu has come down to us.[20] The expedition succeeded. Ullusunu took to the hills on their approach, but when he saw the burning and plundering of

governor who carved out a kingdom for himself in the troublous times before the accession of Sargon. But the fact that his brother was named Amitashshi seems to prove that the Assyrian name was given or assumed only to indicate Assyrian leanings.

[17] Karalla is placed to the east of Lake Urmia, Maspero, *op. cit.*, 141 map, and to the northeast by Billerbeck, map. Streck, *op. cit.*, 163 *ff.*, places it near the Mannai, between them and Kirruri, the latter of which he places, *op. cit.*, 169, to the west and southwest of Lake Urmia. This is more probable. Karalla appears only in the time of Sargon. As it was annexed to the empire, while Allabria was not, it was probably nearer to Assyria.

[18] Allabria or Allabra first occurs in the *Annals* of Ashur naçir pal, III. 109. Here it is connected with Amedi and Kashiari. Streck is therefore right in placing it in Tur 'Abdin, in the Koros Mts., or in those to the east along the Tigris, *op. cit.*, 87. But while this location is no doubt correct for that early time, it will not do for the days of Sargon. Maspero, *op. cit.*, 141, 193, maps, puts it to the east of Karalla, which itself is placed to the east of Lake Urmia. Winckler, on his map, also places it to the east. I would rather place it to the southwest of the lake and beyond Karalla.

[19] Cf. the chronological note below.

[20] Sm. 935 unpublished. Reference in Bezold, Catalogue.

[21] Izirtu is probably the Zirta of *Obelisk*, 166, of Shalmaneser II. It is already the capital of the Mannai. Streck, *op. cit.*, 138 *f.*, compares the first part of the Haldian Sisirihadiris of Sayce XXXIII. 39. Billerbeck, map in *Ency. Bibl.*, places Izirtu at the Arza of Kiepert's map, half way between Van and Urmia and on the direct road between the two places. The situation is probable, but we can place no confidence in the name, for it appears as Arza and Atis on Kiepert's map, while on that of Lynch it is Argis. The whole topographical study is still very difficult. The general outlines of the natural topography are fairly well known, but the nomenclature is in the greatest confusion. Instead of the present crude transliterations of names, we need to have these presented both in the Armenian and Turkish characters with

his capital, Izirtu,[21] as well as some of his other cities,[22] he came out and sued for peace. This was granted with alacrity, showing either that his defection was considered due to force or that the friendship of the Mannai was too important for Sargon to risk it by severe measures.

The two chieftains who had followed his example did not come off so easily, for an example was needed, and they were not important enough to make severe treatment dangerous. Ashur liu was flayed alive and his men deported to Hamath, where they were joined by Itti and his family. Karalla was made a province, while Allabria was granted to a certain Adar aplu iddin, whose name indicates his Assyrian leanings.[23]

which they are written and in a transcription which will represent the actual pronunciation. Even with this, work will be difficult. The place must first be located approximately on purely topographical grounds. Similarity of names is then a welcome rather than necessary confirmation. Shifting of population has caused a large proportion of names to be lost or changed in location, while shifting in pronunciation, which has taken place to a marked degree in Armenian, makes resemblances deceptive and hides real traces. Much work is still needed here, especially for the rural dialects.

[22] These were Zibia or Izibia, doubtfully identified by Streck, *op. cit.*, 139 n. 1, with the Uzbia of the *Cyl.* B. III. 47 of Ashur bani pal, mentioned in connection with Izirtu, a very probable conjecture. Armaid, Armeid, or Armeidda, is identified by Streck, *op. cit.*, 139, with the Araid of A. 119 on the border of the sea, Lake Van, according to Streck, but more probably Urmia. Urmaid is also mentioned on *Prism B* with Kishesim under year V (717). Here also should perhaps be placed the Is-ha-ʔ-gur, a fortress of the Mannai, whose capture is represented in Sculp. XIV. 2.

[23] Our main authority for these events is A. 52–64. It is clear that more than one year is represented here. The order is correct, although the definite chronology is not. The events are badly distorted in D., not only by the usual dividing into geographical sections, but also by ascriptions to the various actors and confusion with those of the following year. The pertinent sections are D. 36–42 50–51 for Ullusunu, 49 for Bagdatti, 55–66 for Ashur liu and Itti. K. 1660,

The next year, 715, the results were more or less unimportant. One expedition was directed against a certain Daiukku, a Mannai governor, who had given his son to Rusash as a hostage. Rusash, however, gave no help, and Daiukku was deported to Hamath. The name of the man is more interesting than his personality. Daiukku is nothing but Deiokes, and it is quite possible that the prototype of the Median prince who founded, according to Herodotus, the Median kingdom at this very time, is to be seen in this underling. We should also note that the name is Iranian. Do we see here, as in the case of Bagdatti, another reaction of the Iranian element in the Mannai against the non-Iranian?[24]

published by Winckler, *Sammlung*, II. 4, is a Babylonian fragment, probably of a display inscription. It mentions Ashur liu and Itti as well as Kammanu and Tarhulara of Marqasha (Marqasi). We therefore have no chronology here; against Bezold, *Catalogue*, who ascribes it to year VI. The letter S. 935 has already been referred to. Prism B., which mentions Ashur liu, Ullusunu and Itti and describes the booty as horses, herds, flocks, and cloth stuffs, is important for the chronology and will be discussed below.

[24] From the time of F. Lenormant, *Lettres Assyrologiques*, I. 55, the verbal identity of this Daiukku, as well as of the Bit Daiukku of A. 140, with the Deoikes of Herod. I. 16, etc., has not been questioned. The date, say 708, of Herodotus agrees so closely with our data that I can hardly believe that there is no connection. If already there were Median tales afloat in regard to a certain Deiokes, founder of the Median empire, it would be perfectly natural for some one who was acquainted with cuneiform to localize him by identifying him with the Daiukku of our lists. A somewhat similar case is the placing of Abraham in the days of Hammurabi. If so, then the chronology of the kings is not that of Herodotus, but of his oriental sources. It is well known that the chronology of Ctesias is a curious amplification of that of Herodotus, but it is also clear that he had cuneiform sources for his names. Is it possible that his chronology is based on a native source directly rather than on Herodotus?

Perhaps we may compare the (amel) Daiku of K. 2852, Winckler, *Forsch.*, II. 28 *ff.* Sayce makes the Mandaukas of Ctesias, Fr. 47 = Man + Deiokes, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, but the better reading is Madaukes.

Sargon next turned his attention to the twenty-two towns recently "given" to Rusash and won them back. The fact that they were restored to Ullusunu is another proof that his defection was unwilling. Even when Sargon erected a stele in Izirtu, his capital, he remained true to Assyria.[25]

Another interesting event was the receiving of tribute from the *ianzu*[26] of Nairi at his capital of Hubushkia.[27] Nairi, which here occurs for the last time, a comparatively restricted district, was once applied to all the tribes of the northern frontier.[28] Tribute was also received from eight towns of the land of Tuaiadi, which was ruled by Telusina the Andian, and over four thousand men were deported from it.[29]

Tiele, *art. Persia, Ency. Bibl.*, doubts the identity of this Hamath with the Syrian city of that name. The numerous settlements in Syria, however, make such an identity practically certain.

[25] A. 77, by the usual anticipation, places the capture of these forts in year VII, and Winckler, *Sargon*, XXIV; Tiele, *Gesch.*, 263; Maspero, *Empires* 242, place it accordingly in 715. It is rather to be placed in the year or years preceding, in accordance with the testimony of D. 39, 44, 52, where a more natural order is given. For the actual date, see below.

[26] The Assyrian scribes both here and in the case of the *ianzu* of Namri, Shalmaneser II, *Obelisk*, 112, took it as a proper name. The Cossaean list however, quoted as 82-9-18,—there is no such number in the Catalogue,—Delitzsch, *Kossäer*, 1884, 29 *ff.*, shows it to be a title by giving it as the equivalent of *sharru*, "king."

[27] Sachau, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, 1897, 53; Schrader, *Keilinschr. und Geschichtsforschung*, 164, places it too far to the northwest; Belck, *Verh. Berl. Anthrop. Gesell.*, 1894, 483, and later writers place it more to the south. Sayce, *Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 1882, 674, makes the name Vannic. Sachau, *l. c.*, identifies it with the classical Moxoene, the Armenian Mokkh.

[28] A. 75 *ff.*; D. 52 *ff.*—The reference to nine towns of five regions belonging to Ursa of Urartu, A. 79, and the annexation of these towns, is not clear.

[29] A. 81 *ff.*; D. 45 *f.*—According to Delattre, *Mèdes*, 82 *f.*, Andia is east of the Matai, between the mountains of Matai, Urmia and

The following year matters became more serious. To follow the Assyrian account we should assume that a direct attack was made on Rusash, that a great defeat was inflicted and that this defeat was so crushing that "when Ursa of Urartu heard of the destruction of Muçaçir, the capture of his god, Haldia, with his own hand, with the iron dagger of his girdle, his life he ended."[30] In several ways, nevertheless, the story does not ring true, and even without documents from the Haldian side, its truth might be doubted. With the account of Rusash himself we can understand the general course of events.[31]

The Mannai lay between Haldia and Muçaçir.[32] Naturally, the two were united against them. As the more powerful, Rusash controlled Muçaçir. As a perpetual reminder of this control, Rusash followed Assyrian precedents and erected a statue of his national god Haldia[33] in Muçaçir,

Parachoatras (Elburz). Billerbeck, *Suleimania,* 156, places (them) north of L. Urmia in the Anzal region. We may see another reference to Andia in the Kalhu inscription, 9, of Adad nirari.

[30] D. 76 *f.*

[31] The Topsana stele. Cf. chap. I. n. 63.

[32] The place is called Muçaçir in the Assyrian, but Ardine in the Haldian Topsana stele. The latter is clearly related to the Haldian sun god Ardinish, although curiously enough the gods of the city are Haldia and Bagabartu. The site has been fixed by the discovery of this stele as at a ruin between Sidikin and the Kelishin Pass, Belck, *Zeitschr. f. Ethn.,* 1899, 103.

[33] That the Haldia of the Assyrian inscriptions was the chief god Haldish of the Haldians was already seen by Oppert, *Fastes,* 8 n. 3. The use of Haldi as a god's name is common in the later days of Assyria, cf. Johns, *Deeds,* index. The contract K. 358 = J. 416 is especially interesting, for we have here a Rusa', a Haldi ibni, and a Haldi uçur, and this in the year 710. Cf. also the Elamite deity, as *e. g.,* in Humma haldash. Perhaps Oppert, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.,* 1887, 106, is right in comparing the Handita (Haldita), the father of Arahu, the Armenian, *Behistun Ins.,* III. 78.

while the native,—and probably Iranian,—Bagabartu,[84] was degraded to the station of a consort.

Sargon took the field, probably in person, to aid the Mannai against this combination. After a preliminary expedition against Elli and Zikirtu, he found himself within the great mountain barrier which now forms the boundary between Persia and Turkey,[85] and within striking distance of Muçaçir. Rusash hurried south, breaking through the Mannai, to come to the help of his ally. As Sargon advanced, Rusash took up his position on Mount Uaush. A battle was fought and Sargon was victorious, the body guard, two hundred and forty Haldians of the blood royal, being completely destroyed.[86] Then, after a stop at Hu-

[84] Rost, *Mittheil, Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1897, 2, 86 reads the name of Bagabartu as Bagamashtu, *i. e., Baga,* "god," plus *Masda.* Even if *sht* can represent *zd, op. cit.,* 111 *f.*, it is still unlikely that the third sign should be read *mash* instead of *bar.* The former is used in Assyrian and, according to Jensen, *Wiener Zeitschr. f. Kunde Morgenl.,* VI. 61, is the Elamitish value also. But *bar* is the common value in Assyrian and the only one in Haldian. As Assyrian was used in Muçaçir, as the seal of Urzana and his letters show, and as Haldian also was probably known, since we have the Topsana stele close to Muçaçir and a Haldian hegemony in that region, we must prefer the value *bar.* For *bartu,* cf. Bardanes or Bardiya. Baga is generally taken to mean god and to indicate that this is an Iranian deity. On the other hand, K. 1067 = H. 139, with its mention of Teshub and the name Urzana itself, seems to point to Haldian. It is probable that both in Mannai and in Muçaçir, Iranian and Haldian elements were pretty much intermingled by this time. Prism B. calls Bagabartu the *ishtar* or consort of Haldia. For a weaker god thus becoming the consort of a stronger, cf. M. Jastrow, *Religion of Assyria and Babylonia,* 1898, 49.

[85] The topography as well as the strategy of this campaign has been most admirably worked out as a result of minute personal knowledge gained on the spot, by W. Belck, *Zeitschr. f. Ethn.,* 1899, 99 *ff.* In general, I have followed his reconstructions.

[86] A. 107 *ff.*—Rusash is said to have mounted a mare and fled to Haldia. For the flight on mare's back and its disgrace, cf. the mare

bushkia to receive again the tribute of the *ianzu* of Nairi, he suddenly turned to the west and made a dash upon Muçaçir. The little mountain stronghold, confident in the inaccessibility of the direct road from Arbela, was taken in the rear by this dash through the Kelishin Pass,[37] and captured. Urzana,[38] its king, fled to Rusash and left his city

episode of Sardurish after the battle with Tiglath Pileser III, Nimrud II, 35. Land for five kasbu from Mt. Uaush to Mt. Ziharadussu and Mt. Uishdish was taken and given to Ullusunu. The Annals has next a mutilated passage naming places captured. They are probably to be referred to the Mannai, though Streck, *op. cit.*, wavers between these and Urartu. They are Ushqaia at the entrance of the land of Zaran-?; ?-ibr(?)ina; Mallau; Durigliraksatu(?) with 140 of its towns; the city of Ashtania which is in Bit Sangibuti, this last being clearly out of place. Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 80 n. 2; the cities of Tarui and Tarmukisa in the land of Dala-?; Ulhu which lay at the foot of Mt. Kishpal; X + 21 strongholds and 140 towns of Mt. Arzabria, this also in K. 5464; X strongholds, 30 towns in the land of Armadalli(?); some regions near Mt. Ubianda; the city of Arbu where Rusash did something; the city ?-tar(?) sha and two others; some strongholds of the land of Araid, perhaps Armaid, Streck, *op. cit.*, 139, which was on the sea shore, naturally of Urmia, though Streck, *l. c.*, takes it to be Van; the cities of Ar-?-u and Kadulania on Mt. Arçi-? and in the regions of Mt. Arzunia(?); and 5 strongholds and 30 towns of Mt. Uaiaush, perhaps to be connected with Mt. Uaush.—In the text, I have followed Belck's reconstruction of the campaign. But S. I. 46 *ff.* places the great battle *after* the capture of Muçaçir. Although the stele is a display inscription, it belongs to the better class and may be correct here. A defeat by Rusash after the capture of Muçaçir would certainly account for the Assyrian evacuation and retreat as well as for the return of Rusash. Still, this may be a mere error and the winter a sufficient cause for retreat.

[37] The mountains are Seak, Ardi-?-shi, Ulaiau, Alluria. Maspero, *Empires*, 248, reads the second as Ardinish, probably correctly, comparing it with the Haldian sun god. It is probably to be connected with the native name of Muçaçir, Ardine.

[38] Urzana is called Urz an ashe and Urzanani on the Topsana stele. Streck, *op. cit.*, 63 n. 1, makes the name Urza *plus* na. His seal is often pictured, *e. g.*, Maspero, *Empires*, 249. He is the author of the letter Rm. 2, 2 = H. 409 (cf. last chapter) and of S. 1056 = H. 768,

to be plundered. The relief which Sargon erected to commemorate the plunder of the great temple and the carrying of the gods, Haldia and Bagabartu, into captivity, has been preserved and merits study. On it we have the temple with its curiously Greek pediment, its banded columns, its votive shields hung up in front, its great bull-footed lavers in the forecourt, and its statue of a she wolf suckling her young in front. Here, too, we have the Assyrian soldiers climbing to the top or running along its sloping roof, while on a nearby tower an Assyrian officer sits on a camp-stool and the scribes stand before him to reckon up the spoil. And, indeed, they might reckon it in good earnest, for, if we could believe the Assyrian scribes themselves, the spoil from this little mountain village was greater than that taken from Carchemish, the great merchant city of the West![39]

Thus far we have followed the Assyrian account, and in general it has seemed trustworthy enough. Here it suddenly breaks off, and we have no further military information. Instead, we are told of the suicide of Rusash. It would be difficult to give a rational reason for this suicide, for a single defeat in the enemy's country and the capture of a god in a city a hundred miles away from his own capital is hardly enough. Fortunately, we have his own account to guide us from this point.

about the transport of horses and sheep. S. 358 mentions his brother. He is mentioned in connection with a military report in 81–7–27, 46, while Rm. 554 not only refers to Urzana, but also to Uasi and to Hubushkia, cf. Bezold, *Catalogue*. Rost, *op. cit.*, 113, compares the Uarzan of the Median list.

[39] The bas relief is Botta II. 141, often published, *e. g.*, Maspero, *Empires*, 59.—The booty included mules, oxen(?), sheep, gold, silver, bronze, jewels, masses of colored stuffs and clothing. We are told that there was taken 34 talents of gold, 160 of silver. Compare this with the modest 11 of gold from Carchemish.—Here we may mention Uabti, a city of Muçaçir, mentioned on the Urzana seal.

The greater part of the year had evidently been taken up with these operations. Winter was now coming on. With the scarcity of forage on these mountain heights, to winter in Muçaçir was impossible. Yet the direct road home through Arbela was impractical for an army, even if there was no enemy to harass his retreat. The only thing to do was to turn back and follow his old track. Rusash returned, re-established Urzana, and rebuilt the temple. The next year Rusash took the offensive and "went to battle to the Assyrian mountains,"[40] probably by the Arbela road. As no victories are claimed it may be presumed that none were gained. Rusash then erected a stele near Muçaçir detailing his version of the events. Later, perhaps in the year following, a fresh expedition by the Assyrians again succeeded in reaching the place and partially mutilated this record of their disgrace.[41]

This is the last we hear of Rusash. His work was done, and Assyria had learned that Haldia was not to be conquered. He died about 711, and was succeeded by his son, Argishtish. Under this new ruler new conditions arose which must be discussed in a later chapter.[42]

[40] Topsana stele, 16.

[41] D. 78 would seem to indicate another invasion of Haldia which took place after the alleged death of Rusash. But this is identical with S. I. 42–45, where it is placed after the capture of Muçaçir, but before the death story. Both appear to be abbreviations of the badly mutilated A. 132–137. This belongs, not to Urzana, as a first glance might indicate, but to Rusash himself. *Itti* at the beginning of 132 is frequently used to add one account to another. Sums of money are given. "Ursa their king," 136, clearly refers back, not forward. The account ends with the addition of the land of Mashshi to Assyria and the placing over it the chief of the palace. Prism B. deals in detail with this expedition, but practically nothing can be gained, as the long lists of booty cannot be assigned to any event or place.

[42] The chronology of the Armenian campaigns here given varies much from that of the Annals. It has already been seen, Winckler,

Sargon, XXII, n. 2, that the events of 716 in the Annals really extended over several years. Prism B. has references to Urartu and to Mannai already in year III, 719, and here we must begin the wars. Unfortunately, we cannot make out enough of year IV, 718, to be sure what country was attacked. Rm. 2, 97, however, helps us out, for under 718 we have ana a]lu(?) Mannai, "against Mannai." To 719 we must attribute, with the Annals, the revolt of the towns from Iranzu. In 718, we would have the death of Iranzu, the short reigns of Aza and of Bagdatti, and the accession of Ullusunu. The Annals places the Papa and Lallukna episode in 717. More probably it, too, should be in 718. We know that all this must be before 717, for the Annals, whose order seems generally to be better than its ascription of dates, makes all these events precede the expedition against Ashur liu of Karalla, and his account begins year V, 717, in Prism B. Here, too, belongs the appointment of governors, Rm. 2, 97. We place therefore the troubles with Ullusunu, with Ashur liu, and with Itti in 717. As we have thus taken one year earlier in the Annals, we expect that the events there listed under 715 really belong to 716. This is confirmed by Rm. 2, 97, for under this year we have *ſ di (al) Muçaçir Haldia.* While it is not clear just what this means, it certainly shows that Haldia and Muçaçir were the center of attraction in that year. Prism B. only lets us know that Rusash was this year intriguing in Que. Following our plan of subtracting one year from the Annals date, we would place the great Muçaçir war in 715. Rm. 2, 97, disappoints us by no reference to Haldia, but this is more than made up by Prism B. where col. III. is entirely devoted to the events of year VII, 715, and deals only with Haldia and the large booty taken thence. The year 714 would then be free for the expedition of Rusash against Assyria mentioned on the Topsana stele, Prism B. dealing only with small wars in the east, while Rm. 2, 97 has nothing at all of a military nature. Then 713 would do for the return trip of Sargon, and sure enough we have a mention of an expedition against Muçaçir on Rm. 2, 97 for this year. This ended the Armenian wars, for Rm. 2, 97 under 712 has *ina mati*, "in the land." About this time, or a little later, Rusash probably died.

CHAPTER VI

THE MEDIAN WARS

Judged rather by their results than by the details of their progress, the wars with the Median tribes, begun under Shalmaneser II in 836 and carried on by the later Assyrian kings with ever-decreasing hopes of success, deserve a large part in general history. Drifting westward as petty unconnected tribes, at war often with each other, they gradually drove in or conquered the more or less Assyrianized tribes along the eastern frontier, and then began to assail the empire itself. For a time the better trained Assyrian soldiers succeeded in beating them off, but the task was never-ending and the drain severe. The destruction of one clan meant only room for another to expand in, while all the time they were learning from the enemy. At last Assyria, now defended almost exclusively by mercenaries, themselves of Iranian extraction in many cases, fell, and then the collapse of Babylon was merely a question of time. Yet so thoroughly had they been transformed by the contact with their more civilized neighbors that, when at last they had conquered what was then the civilized world, they were found to stand for almost the same ideas in government and social life as did those who had preceded them in the way of empire. Here we have an interesting parallel in the evolution which led our Germanic ancestors from the idea of the rude chief with his band of personal attendants to the conception of the Holy Roman Empire. Interesting, however, as a study of these general movements may be, the

details of this constant border warfare are dry to study and difficult to handle.

Thanks to the exertions of Tiglath Pileser III and to the provincial organization he brought to so high a pitch of efficiency, Sargon was well situated as regards these tribes. On the northeast and between Arbela and Muçaçir was the province of Kirruri which had been Assyrian territory since the ninth century.[1] At this time the governor was Shamash upahhir.[2] To the south of this was Parsuash,[3] and again, to the south of this last, between the Lower Zab and the Diyala, on the first outliers of the eastern mountains, lay that of Arapha,[4] now governed by Ishtar Duri.[5] To the east of this was Lullume,[6] an ill-defined province in the

[1] For Kirruri, cf. A. Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 1898, 20 *ff.* This elaborate and painstaking work gives references to, and discusses all the sections of, the inscriptions dealing with this frontier. Naturally, in such pioneer work, the identifications can only be approximate. In the case of the regions to the north, they are to be considerably corrected by the location of Muçaçir by Belck, cf. chap. V. n. 32. In this very case, for example, he places Kirruri with its center at the Kelishin Pass. It is rather the region between Muçaçir and Arbela.

[2] That Shamash up ahhir was governor of Kirruri in 708 we know from Rm. 2, 97. For other references, cf. Johns, *Deeds*, III. 112. In his list of governors, II. 136, Shamash upahhir should be read for Shamash bel uçur. It is of course not proved that Shamash upahhir was governor already at this time, but it seems probable.

[3] Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 60, places Parsua in the Persian region of Minde south of Lake Urmia. While this may mark the extreme limits of the region called by that name, I feel that the province was much more to the west. We know from A. 67 that Parsuash was a province at this time, but no governor is known by name till much later, Johns, *Deeds*, II. 137.

[4] Arapha is thus located by Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 68. Its correctness can hardly be doubted.

[5] For Ishtar Duri, see Johns, *Deeds*, III. 95; cf. also II. 135. He was eponym in 714.

[6] For Lullume, the home of the early Lulli people, cf. Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 7 *f.* It was a region which seems never to have been very clearly

Shehrizor highland, whose governor, Sharru emur ani,[7] whose residence probably was at the modern Suleimania, bore the brunt of the conflict.

We may now take up the operations in detail. First we have the operations of the governor of Parsuash (717). A number of towns[8] of the land Niksama[9] were plundered, and Sipu sharru, the ruler of Shurgardia, probably a revolted subject,[10] was captured. Lying as they did on the Parsuash frontier, they were naturally added to that province.

The governor next advanced to Kishesim,[11] the most important town in the Parsuash region, and captured and carried off the komarch Bel shar uçur, whose name reminds us of the Biblical Belshazzar. The site of Kishesim seemed well adapted to be the seat of a province. The name was accordingly changed to Kar Adar, the Ashur cult introduced, and the usual stele erected. The new province whose capital Kar Adar became, embraced the greater part of the Parsuash region.[12]

defined. As a province, Lullume seems only a later name for Mazamua, cf. Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 39 *ff.* The last reference to Mazamua is in 733, the first to Lullume in 712.

[7] Sharru emur ani was governor of Lullume in 712, Johns, *Deeds*, II. 136; III. 188. Prism B. expressly ascribes one of these expeditions to the governor of Lullume, see below.

[8] These were Ganun of the land of La(?) and six towns of Niksama.

[9] Niksama is the Sauch Bulak region, Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 95.

[10] Winckler, *Gesch.*, 242.

[11] Kishesim is placed by Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 98, at the great ruins of Shah i viran, north of Sauch Bulak, at Sikkis, or at the ruins of Siama between Serdesht and Bane.

[12] So Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 97. Prism B. repeats some of these facts and adds tribute of treasure, horses, and mules. Kishassu, as it was then called, was still in the hands of the Assyrians in the last days of Esarhaddon, K. 4668 = Knudtzon No. 1. The relief Botta I. 68, 68, cf. Maspero, *Empires*, 241, represents the firing and capture of

Troubles in Harhar[13] next engaged the attention of the governor. Here the pro-Assyrian feelings of the komarch Kibaba had caused his expulsion, and Harhar was brought into close relation to Dalta of Elli. As that individual had not yet won the fame of a "loyal vassal who loved my yoke,"[14] praise so gladly given when Dalta was dead and the strife of his sons gave so good an opportunity for intervention, this was considered good ground for similar action here. To be sure, poor Kibaba was not reinstated. In fact, if we may accept one account,[15] he was actually made captive himself. The city of Harhar, defended, as one of the reliefs shows,[16] by an isolated rock citadel within the city, which itself was surrounded by a good-sized stream, was taken and plundered, its men impaled, and the usual procedure of setting up the stele, the introducing of the Ashur cult, and the settling of foreigners, gone through, while the name of

the city which was defended by high triple walls with crenallations. Winckler, *Gesch.*, *242*, thinks that here, as in the case of Ashur liu, the Assyrian name means a revolted governor. But it only shows Assyrian or perhaps rather Babylonian influence.—Certain other lands were also added to the province. Bit Sagbat is the city Sagbat of D. 139 and the Bit Sakbat of Tiglath Pileser III, *Clay Tablet*, 31. Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 92, places it at an earlier time northeast of Lake Zeribor; but at this time it was more to the south on the Khorkhoran and upper Kisil usen, *ib.*, 96. The land of Bit Umargi is compared, Rost, *Mitth. Vorderasiatischer Gesellschaft*, 1897, *2*, 87, with the Amyrgioi of Herod. VII. 64 and Steph. Byz., *s. v.*, *Amyrgion*, a Scythian clan. The next city is read Hashubarban by Winckler, Har Bagmashtum by Hüsing, in Rost, *op. cit.*, 87. The other cities are Kilambati and Armangu. In A. and XIV, they are called "lands," in D. 60 "towns." Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 97, makes their conquest due only to a desire to protect the Parsua province against the Medes.

[13] Harhar is placed by Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 63, at Hejaj on the upper Dyala.

[14] D. 117.—The statement "Dalta was restored to favor," Maspero, *op. cit.*, *242*, cannot be accepted.

[15] D. 61.

[16] Botta I. 55, also in Maspero, *Empires*, 357.

the place was changed to Kar Sharrukin, or Sargon's fortress.[17] To the province thus formed were added the six small "states" now plundered and taken.[18] At about the same time the governor in his new capital received the tribute from twenty-eight komarchs of the "mighty Medes."[19]

In the next year, 716, the efforts to extend the province were continued. Some of the towns conquered the last year were again forced to pay tribute, while more new ones were visited.[20] The details of some of these campaigns are

[17] Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 99 n., makes the statement that the old name Harhar is more used in later times than Kar Sharrukin. But the latter occurs in the letter Rm. 2, 464, as well as in K. 609 = H. 126, 650 = H. 128, 683 = H. 556, S. 167.

[18] The upper canal of Aranzeshu, the Erinziashu of Tiglath Pileser III, *Annals*, 43, in the region either of the Belad Russ stream, or the old stream between the Kisil robat and the Khanikhend rud, Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 75. The lower canal of Bit Ramatua, the Ramatea of Tiglath Pileser, *Annals*, 44, the rich region between the Elvend rud, the Dyala, and the Guovratro, Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 76; Urikatu. Sikris, the Shikra (ki) of the *Clay Tablet*, 32, 37; *Slab* II. 23, perhaps at Sirkuh east of Kameron and north of Dinaver, or else further east at Sirkau at the south foot of Elvend, Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 90. Shaparda. Uriakku. Here too, with Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 80 n. 2, we should probably place the reference to Ashtania of Bit Sangibuti in A. 113 where it is clearly out of place. Billerbeck, *l. c.*, locates it in the Derud valley.

[19] Whether the Medes, the "mighty" Medes, the "distant" Medes, and the "Medes of the region of the eastern Arabs" are all of the same race is not certain.

[20] We have again mention of the upper and lower canals of Bit Sangibuti which takes the place of the Bit Ramatua of the other list, of Upparia which stands for Uriakku, of Sikris, of Shuparda, A. 83–84. Another list, A. 85–86, gives the cities of Kaqunakinzarbara, of Halbuknu, of Shu . . . al, of Anzaria, a region on the lower canal. Upparia, the Niparia of Tiglath Pileser, *Slab* II, 22; *Clay Tablet*, 31, is placed by Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 90, south of the Gabe rud and east of Shaho Dagh. It occurs in Prism A. as Uppuria. Shuparda would appear to be the Sapardai of Knudtzon 11, mentioned with the Mannai

shown in the bas-reliefs which once adorned the palace of Sargon. On one[21] we see Kindau, a town with high walls around a great central tower. It is situated in a swamp across which a causeway leads to the town. On another[22] we see Gauguhtu, a city on a hill with double walls against which mining operations are being carried on. A third[23] shows us Kisheshlu with its double wall around a rocky hill surrounded by water, with three battering rams working against them. These cities, once taken, were given Assyrian names and formed into Assyrian municipalities.[24] Kar Sharrukin was again strengthened against the Medes, who still remained dangerous, even if twenty-two chiefs did send presents.[25]

Indeed, the operations continued the next year, 715. The

as well as with the Persian Sparda which has generally been identified with the Sepharad of Obadiah, 20.

[21] Botta I. 61.

[22] Botta II. 28. Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 102, compares the Ginhuhtu of Shamshi Adad. III. 58, but this is in the north.

[23] Botta, II. 147.—These places are located northeast and east of Shehrizor, Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 102.

[24] These were Kisheshlu, Kinddau, Auzaria, Bit Bagaia (var. Bit Gabaiia), their names being changed to Kar Nabu, Kar Siu, Kar Adad, Kar Ishtar. We have sculptures of Ganguhtu, ?ambarukur(?), Sinn, ?ikrakka, Kindau, Kisheshlu, Bit Bagaia. Rost, *op. cit.*, 86 n. 1, compares the Persian Bagaios of Herod. III, 128. Does the variation between Bagaia and Gabaia indicate confusion caused by an Aramaean scribe accustomed to write from right to left?

[25] A. 89, cf. D. 66.—The campaign ended with the capture of twenty-five hundred men from Kimirra, a city of Bit Hamban. A Bit Su-?-za(?) is also mentioned. Bit Hamban or Habban is in the Hurin valley northwest of Zohab, Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 14. These references to Bit Hanban, Namri, Hashmar in the introductions are probably not to be taken seriously, as they seem to be only learned touches. Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 104, sees in the whole series of movements a reconnaissance in force of the passes along the Susian border in preparation for a Susian campaign. I believe my reconstruction much more nearly represents the truth.

Mannai and Elli were once more forced to pay tribute, as well as certain princelets who had never done the like to the kings, his fathers.[26] The main event of the year, however, was the defeat of Mitatti of Zikirtu,[27] who had twice conspired to raise a revolt among the Mannai. At last, an attempt was made thoroughly to root out the Zikirtai. Their three strong places, their twenty-four towns, even their capital, Parda, was taken, plundered, and burned. Mitatti was forced to flee, and "his place of abode was not found."[28] A few years later Zikirtai was once more in revolt.

Thus far we seem to be dealing only with the unknown governor of Parsuash. In 714 we learn of the operations of Sharru emur ani, the governor of Lullume.[29] As a result of the troubles of 717, Karalla had been made part of the

[26] A. 101 *ff.* Only Ziziragala is mentioned by name.

[27] The identification of Zikirtu with the Persian clan Sargartioi, ? Herod. I. 125, is now accepted.

[28] A. 107, paraphrased by Maspero, *Empires*, 247, "disappeared from the pages of history." Just below, A. 106, *adi* is "*samt*," not "deserted by" as Maspero, *l. c.* Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 103, places here D. 70. We may note in this place the Zikirtian town of Ki-?-bi of the sculptures.—The list of Median princelings in Prism A. has been placed in various years by various authors. On that prism it occurs just after the Dalta episode. If we may trust that document, and I think we may, I do not see where else we can place it than here, for we have a suitable tribute of the Medes and the main Dalta story just previous. The list has been so well studied by Rost, *Mitth. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1897, 2, 111 *ff.*, that I shall merely refer to it and not repeat the names. The identifications with places mentioned in Ptolemy and other classical authors are numerous. Where the list throws light on other matters, it is quoted. On Luh barbari, however, cf. also Johns, *Deeds*, III. 413, where it is explained "jackal's jaw." A comparison there given of various place names from a root lh' is more valuable perhaps.

[29] Prism B. states that this region was handed over to the governor of Lullume who was Sharru emur anni, as Johns, *Deeds*, III. 188, shows. He was eponym in 712.

province.[80] Under Amitashshi, the brother of the unfortunate Ashur liu, the natives rose and drove out their Assyrian oppressors. Sharru emur ani returned with an army, and a battle was fought on the mountain called Ana.[81] The people of Karalla were defeated and Amitashshi, bound hand and foot, was carried off to Assyria, while two thousand of his troops were forced to take service in the royal army.[82] Bit Daiukku and the surrounding lands were raided and plundered, and the whole of the newly-conquered region added to the Lullume province.[83]

At about the same time operations were carried on along the Elli frontier, perhaps by Sharru emur ani, more probably by Ishtur Duri, the governor of Arapha.[84] Dalta[85] had

[80] The passage in A. 68 is mutilated, but this formation of a province is proved by A. 140 *ff.*

[81] The name of the mountain is written *An-a.* This is probably the correct reading, but one suspects the possibility of some folk etymology connected with the other values of *An, shamu,* "heaven," then a "mountain heaven high" or *ilu,* "god," a "mountain of the gods." Both are unlikely.

[82] A. 141 *ff.* Sculp., i., VIII. 17, B, 14.

[83] This Bit Daiukku of A. 140 has clear affinities with Deiokes, as does the Daiukku already discussed, cf. chap. V. n. 24. Winckler, *Untersuch.,* 117, accepts the connection with the latter, but not with the former.—A. 140–57 seems to fall into three sections corresponding to the Elli, Bit Daiukku, and Karalla of A. 139–40. As A. 140–43 belongs to the last and 152–57 to the first, the remainder must belong to the other. These lines are too mutilated for Winckler to translate. We have here a plunder of the land of Mapatira, a reference to Elli, and something done to or for Azuk. In the version of Hall V, we have references to the land of Mi-?-ku, of ?-me-?melu-hal, and two others, and to the city of Hubahme. In Prism B. we have Rakkairi and Irakka who seem to be some sort of foreign officials sent with the tribute of Amitashshi. The land was handed over to the governor of Lullume and tribute inflicted on Kirhi, Karalla, and Namri.

[84] For full account of Elli, see Billerbeck, *op. cit.,* 157 *ff.* The name is written Ellipi or Ellibi, but this last part is only the plural sign, Billerbeck, *l. c.*

[85] Dalta is interpreted by Justi, *Namenbuch, s. v.,* as the "supporter

now changed his policy; for the revolt of five of his border districts, seemingly to the Elamitish ruler, had forced him to invite the Assyrians to assist him. The Assyrians accepted gladly and secured the districts in question, but there is no proof that they were ever returned to Dalta. Elli was now brought fairly within the Assyrian sphere of influence, and only the death of Dalta was needed to produce actual intervention.[86]

In this connection we are told of tribute received by the governor of Parsuash. This was probably not all taken in one year. It must rather represent the relations of that official with the tribes to the east during the interval for which we have no other history. Certain it is that we cannot see here actual expeditions in the field. Among the

of the state." If this is correct, then we have a Median ruling race among the old Anzanitish peoples, Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 162.

[86] A. 152 *ff.* is badly mutilated, D. 70 *ff.* is less full, the Prisms add a little. In both, he is called *malik* or "prince." There seems to be a reference to the princes of Haldini. Or should we read Haldinishe and see in the last sign the Haldian nominative? He took upon himself the *ilqu* or feudal obligation of [Rusash], but when Sargon came, took to a high mountain from which he was brought down. K. 560 = H. 227 is a letter from Nergal etir, perhaps the well-known astrologer, concerning a messenger from Dalta who has come before the king on business apparently connected with horses. This has already been referred to Sargon by Johns, *Deeds*, II. 149. In K. 526 = H. 226 = Delitzsch, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, I. 202 *ff.*, the same official states that a man detailed from the body guard came on the sixth of Airu and the horses were brought on the next day. The two seem to go together.—Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 105, who thinks that all troubles here were connected with Susa, makes this an attempt of the Assyrian general staff to learn, by a reconnaissance in force, the practicability of certain passes leading into Elam. But local conditions sufficiently explain all the movements.

K. 665 = H. 194 a letter from Naid ilu refers to D]alta in an uncertain connection. The writer refers to the collecting of Bit Ukanai, if the name is to be so read, and asks that a letter be sent regarding Sharru emur anni, the eponym of 712, who was governor of Lullume and as such charged with the pacification of this region, cf. n. 29.

tribes which sent presents were those of the Bikni[37] or Demavend region, clearly near the Caspian and as clearly in a region where no Assyrian army ever penetrated.[38] These were next neighbors to the somewhat mysterious Arabs of the east[39] and of the land of Nagira[40] of the

[37] These were the city of Erishtana, the Diristanu of D. 67, with the towns around it in the land of Ba'it ili, a region of Media in the land of Elli, according to Sayce, *Records of the Past,*[2] V. 153, the country about Bisutun, but better taken with Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 106 n. 1, as the region about Kirmanshah; the lands of Absahutti; Parnuatti; Utirna; Uriakki; Rimanuti, a region of Uppuria, Uiadane; Bustus, also Tiglath Pileser, *Clay Tablet,* 31; *Slab,* II. 22, according to Billerbeck, *l. c.* Takht i Bostan or rather the region to the south of it about Bisutun for which see Steph. Byz., *s. v., Bagistana;* Azazi, according to Rost, *op. cit.,* 83, the Azaza of Ptol. VI. 2. 8, but Billerbeck, *op. cit.,* 105, places Azazi and Uaidame about Kirmanshah and the rich region of Dinaver and Kasr i Shirin; Ambanda, according to Justi, *Beitr. zur Alten Geog. Persiens,* 1869, I. 23, quoted Billerbeck, *op. cit.,* 105 n. 2, is the Achaemenian Kampanda, the present Chamabadan on the upper Gamas ab, but according to Billerbeck, *op. cit.,* 106 n. 3, it is about Nehavend where there are important ruins; Dananu the Zangun south-east of Doletabad, Billerbeck, *op. cit.,* 106 n. 4; these last three are distant regions bordering on the "eastern Arabs." A. 158 *ff.* D. 67 *ff.*

[38] Bikni is not mentioned in the Annals, a proof of its being "learned." It seems to be the Demavend, Winckler, *Sargon,* XXVII n. 3. Rost, *op. cit.,* 77, compares the Abakaina of Ptol. VI. 2. 17.

[39] These eastern Aribi are very puzzling. Delitzsch, *Kossäer,* II. n. 3, takes Aribi as a general word for nomad and compares the "Arabian" dynasty of Berossus which is really Kossaean. I suspect there is some truth in this view. *Finzi, Ricerche,* 514 *f.,* quoted by A. Delattre, *Mèdes.,* 1883, 106, compares the Aribes of Strabo. XV. 2. 1, and of Dionysius Periegetes 1096. For these Aribes, Arbies, etc., of the east, see the full discussion in note, *Geog. Minores,* I. 335. Delattre, *l. c.,* compares with more probability the Arabians of Iran who were forced to submit to Seleucus, Appian, *Syriaca,* 55. Billerbeck, *op. cit.,* 108, would find their descendants in the nomad races who still wander in winter to the salt marshes of Tushu Gol near Sultanabad, but in the summer come far west, nearly to the frontier.

[40] Nagiru is placed by Billerbeck, *op. cit.,* 107, about Kengovar Tulan and the region Mekhoran near the head of the Gamas rud.

"mighty" Mandai[41] who had thrown off the yoke of Ashur and were encamped on mountain and steppe. The tribute received from Ullusunu of Mannai and of Adar aplu iddin was more in the nature of the real thing. But, again, in the tribute of several thousand horses and mules, sheep and cattle sent in by forty-five chiefs of the "mighty" Medes, we have only the usual presents.[42]

Only once more does there seem to have been trouble along this frontier, and then it was not serious. By 708 Dalta of Elli had "gone the way of death," and his two sons, Nibe and Ishpabara,[43] contested his throne. Nibe called in Shutruk nahunta, none the worse it would seem for his Assyrian wars, while his brother summoned Sargon. Shutruk nahunta sent four thousand five hundred bowmen to garrison Elli, but the seven generals of Sargon won the day. The capital, Marubishtu,[44] situated on a high moun-

[41] It is tempting to connect the Mandai with the Umman Manda of the later inscriptions or even with the Mandaeans or so-called Sabaeans. Neither is at all probable. Winckler, *Sargon*, XXVII. n. 3, has shown that they are Medes. I would go a step further and suggest that *Mandai dannuti* is a mere error for *Madai dannuti*, the "powerful" Medes. Did the scribe start to write Mannai? Winckler, *Forsch.*, II. 74, sees in *Sharrakish*, "desert," the first use of Saracen. But it would be certainly curious to find it first used in Media.

[42] A. 162 *ff.*; D. 69. Prism B. gives to this year also an expedition against the land of Bagris and the leader of the opposition was brought to Sargon.—Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 106 *ff.*, has worked out an elaborate system of campaigning, parallel columns and all the rest. The vital objection to all this is that we have to do, not with real expeditions, but merely with tribute presentations.

[43] Justi, *Namenbuch, s. v.*, makes Nibe the old Persian *waiba*, the Pahlevi Niwika, and Ishpabara or Ashpabara the Astibares of Ctesias and a number of other Iranian forms all meaning "Ritter."—In K. 1025 = H. 159, Eshtar duri sends the king certain information about the cavalry of Nibe. The rest is too mutilated for translation.

[44] Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 127, compares with Marubishti the region Mahidesht. He locates it between Kirmanshah and Hulelan, at the pass south of Kargan.

tain, was captured and rebuilt, Nibe made prisoner, and Ishpabara placed on the throne.[45]

The revolt of Ishpabara only six years later[46] is only one indication among many of the untenable position the Assyrians held in Media. The attempt to hold back the advancing Median hordes was an impossible one, but Sargon did what he could and at least somewhat postponed the evil day.

[45] A. 402 *ff.*; D. 117 *ff.*

[46] Prism II. 8 *ff.* The prayers, Knudtzon 23, 75, etc., show that by the time of Esarhaddon, Elli was entirely lost.

[47] In the account of the Median wars, I have again followed the chronology of Prism B. in preference to that of the Annals, thus placing the events one year earlier than is usually done. The only additional evidence is to be gained from Rm. 2, 97, where an expedition against Elli is given for 715. This agrees well enough with Prism B. Naturally, any definite chronology of such continuous frontier wars must be somewhat artificial.

CHAPTER VII

THE ELAMITISH WARS AND THE CONQUEST OF BABYLON

The campaigns of Sargon, after the first Babylonian troubles, fall into a definite series of movements. First came the settlement of Syrian affairs, then the advances on the northwest frontier and the struggles with Rusash and Midas. After this there had been no great movements, but constant wars along the Median and Asia Minor frontiers had exercised the troops as well as extended the boundaries. At the same time an opportunity was given for recuperation and for preparation for new wars.

The Median wars had already shown the influence of Shuṭur nahundi, who had ruled in Elam since 717.[1] In Babylon, too, it was Elamitish support which helped to keep Merodach Baladan on the throne, and a movement to recover the old sacred city could not be better begun than by an attempt to disable the usurper's ally.[2] Shutur nahundi held the same place in the affairs of the southeast as did Rusash in the north, Midas on the northwest, and Egypt on the southwest. Around each all the disaffection of that section centered and a conquest of each was essential to a lasting peace on that frontier.

[1] *Bab. Chron.*, I. 38 *ff.* These lines are found in Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*,[4] not in the earlier editions. He is there called Ishtar hundu. The native name is Shutruk nahunta, cf., *e. g.*, the brick in M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, 1893, 311. The Assyrian form is Shutur nahundi.

[2] Lenormant, *Les Premières Civilizations*, II. 202, made him a Babylonian patriot. Delattre, *Rev. Quest. Hist.*, 1877, I. 538, and later writers go to the other extreme and make him a tyrant. It is only fair to read both sides of the case.

It was therefore as a preliminary to the conquest of Babylon that Elam was invaded.[3] Confused though the accounts are, we can yet, by the aid of the topography, give a fairly correct account of the operations. One division moved down southeast behind the Hamrin Hills, the first important elevation beyond the Babylonian plain, and attacked Dur Athara,[4] a Gambulu fort only sixty miles from Susa itself and on the direct road between that city and Babylon. This important post had already been fortified by Merodach Baladan and was now still more strengthened. Its walls were raised, a canal from the Surappu[5] river drawn about it, and a force of four hundred infantry and six hundred cavalry thrown in. In spite of all this preparation, the fort was quickly taken, before nightfall, the scribes of Sargon boast,—and the usual prisoners and booty of live stock carried off.[6] If the plan of Sargon had been to advance from here direct upon Susa, he was doomed to disappointment, for the road, though short, was too rough for an army

[3] These campaigns have been worked out in detail by Billerbeck in his *Susa*, 1893. He has since, in his *Suleimania*, 1898, changed his opinion on certain points, but has not gone over again the ground in detail. As in the case of the Median wars, the excellence of his work must be admitted without believing that the last word has been said.

[4] Billerbeck, *Susa*, 80, first placed Dur Athara on the Mendeli. Later he placed it more to the south at Sebo'a Kherib, *Suleimania*, 113 n. —. Maspero, *Empires*, 256 n. 4, seems to have arrived independently at the same conclusion. In all probability, it is correct.

[5] The Surappu has been identified with the Umm el Jemal by Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 195, and the Kekha by Delattre, *Les Travaux*, 39 n. 4, cited by Maspero, *l. c.* Neither is probable. Billerbeck, *Mitth. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1898, 2, 28, reconstructs the rivers of south Babylonia in ancient times and makes the Tigris of that time the Shatt el Hai, while the present lower Tigris is made the Surappu. I am more inclined to agree with Maspero, *l. c.*, in making it the Tib; for this is the river naturally to be used, if Dur Athara is to be placed, with Billerbeck himself, at Sebo'a Kherib.

[6] A. 245 *ff.*

easily to traverse it even in time of peace, while in the face of an enemy it was utterly impossible.[7]

Something, however, had been accomplished. The direct road between Susa and Babylon was held by Dur Athara which was made the capital of a new province, while Dur ilu held the Susians back from a return attack on Assyria. With the new capital as a base, further advances were made. One detachment, perhaps trying to go around the south end of the Hamrin chain and so attack Susa on the flank, invaded the Uknu region,[8] where, among their reed beds and swamps, the natives felt secure.[9] Nevertheless, their towns were taken and eight chiefs came forth from their retreat and paid tribute in livestock.[10] All the region thus far taken was made a new province, that of Gambulu, with Dur Athara, now called Dur Nabu, as its capital. The nomads were ordered to settle,[11] and a cash tribute added to a tax of one out of twenty from their flocks. This province seems to have been well Assyrianized, and Dur Nabu, unlike most of these re-christenings, long retained that name. Years later, when Gambulian exiles are found settled near Harran, we find a Dur Nabu as one of their foundations.[12]

Next came the attempt to extend the province to the south as well as to the southeast, a movement of importance,

[7] Thus Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 114.

[8] Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, 194, identified the Uknu with the Kerkha and this has been generally followed. The region here indicated seems to be the lower swamps of that stream, the Shatt el Jamus, so called from the buffaloes spending the day there with only their noses out of the water.

[9] This we learn from H. Cf. Peiser, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, 1889, 412.

[10] These were Ba(?)ar(?)—; Hazailu, cf. Johns, *Deeds*, III. 453; Handanu; Zabidu; Amai, cf. the city Ama of A. 275; Ia—; Amelu sharru iddin; Aisammu.

[11] So it would seem from A. 254 *ff.*

[12] Johns, *Doomsday Book*, 2, I. 19; cf. 4. III. 18.

as it brought the army close to the ancestral home of Merodach Baladan. Here was captured Qarad Nanni, a town of Nabu uçalla, six regions of the Gambulu, and four of their strongholds.[13] Then, moving northeast, he attacked some of the greater tribes of the country, the Ru'a,[14] the Puqudu,[15] the Iatburu,[16] and the Hindaru. From the two somewhat different accounts which the scribe has neglected to amalgamate[17] we learn that they fled by night and occupied the morasses of the Uknu. The Assyrian army first devastated their land and cut down their main means of support, the date palms. Then they advanced into the swamp where they found the Dupliash[18] dammed and forti-

[13] These were the Husiqanu, Tarbugati, Tibarsunu, Pashur, an unknown land, Hirutu, Hilmun. For the last, cf. the Hillimmu of D. 20. Winckler in his transliteration gives a break between 263 and 264. This is unjustified. In XII, the text is continuous, while in the other the six named lands of the one line correspond with the VI *nage* of the next.

[14] According to Glaser, *Skizze,* 1890, 408, the Re'u of Gen. 11^{19}.—K. 530 = H. 158 is from Ishtar duri, the well-known official. It describes how Nabu zer ibni, chief of the Rua, has escaped from Damascus from Bel duri who seems to have been the governor of that place. The name of the man he escaped to is mostly gone; but traces allow us to restore Merodach Baladan who is mentioned later. He fled to the city Abdudi and his men met him. Just what the operations next described were the mutilated state of the text does not allow us to learn, but Me Turnat seems to have been surrounded. Some sort of a victory is probable where some were captured and settled.

[15] The Peqod of Ezek. 23^{23}.

[16] Iatbur was a rather ill-defined region extending along the Elamitish foothills. Billerbeck, *Suleimania,* map, brings it nearly as far north as the Dyala; but this is certainly too far north for our present operations.

[17] A. 264–71 = 271–78.

[18] The name of the stream generally given as Umliash is read, probably correctly, by Billerbeck, *Mitth. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.,* 1898, 2, Dupuliash, Dupliash, on the basis of K. 1146, Winckler, *Sammlung,* II. 43, a letter from a chief of Nar Tupuli'ash to the king, perhaps to be placed here, Billerbeck, *ib.* Billerbeck, *l. c.,* makes it the Duwary.

fied by two strongholds. An indecisive battle was fought, but surrender was finally forced by starvation. Fourteen towns on the banks of the Uknu,—the names differ in the two versions,[19]—presented their tribute of livestock to the governor in Dur Athara. Hostages were taken, taxes assessed, and they, too, became part of the new province.[20]

Parallel with all these operations of one corps were those of another, which had its base at Dur ilu, and which directed its attention to the country to the north of Elam proper, where Elamitish influence was still strong. Here again we have two conflicting versions.[21] Two important places, Sam'una[22] and Bab duri,[23] were taken, though whether they

[19] The first version has Ianuku of Zame; Nabu uçalla of Qarad Nanni, according to H. 2 but now of Abure; Pashshunu and Haukanu of Nuhanu; Sa'lu, a man in A. 268, a city in 275 (C), Sahalu, 275 (XIII), of Ibulu. All these were chiefs of the Puqudu. Abhata of the Ru'a; Huninu, Same', Sapharu, Rapi', from the Hindaru. In the other list we have Zame, Abure, Iaptiru, Mahiçu, Hilipanu, Dandan, Pattianu, Haimanu, Gadiati, Nuhanu, Ama, Hiuru, Sa'lu. In spite of the differences, we have here clearly two accounts of the same campaign.

[20] While these conquests are frequently mentioned in the introductions of the various display inscriptions, cf. Billerbeck, *l. c.*, 35 *ff.*, there is a detailed and consecutive account only in the Annals. I have followed Maspero, *Empires*, 256, rather than Billerbeck, *Susa*, 80, *Suleimania*, 117 *ff.*, in my location. I do not see how these tribes can be placed further north than I have done. The references to the marshes of the Uknu and to the palms seem to me to leave no other alternative. In the text, I have followed the account of the Annals. But I am not sure that all these do not refer to one series of more or less connected fights in the swamps. The Labdudu,—or should we read Kaldudu?—are mentioned only in P. IV. 72; D. 18, cf. K. 4286, Johns, *Deeds*, II. 171, and 83-1-18, 215, Winckler, *Forsch.*, II 3 *ff.* K. 1023 = H. 798 from Shamash bel uçur refers to flocks of the Labdudi.

[21] A. 178–81 = 281–84.

[22] Samuna occurs also in Ashur bani pal, *Rm. Cyl.*, V. 55; Sennacherib, *Prism*, V. 33. Maspero, *Empires*, 256 n. 2, places it near Zirzirtepe, Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 118, near Mendeli.

[23] Bab duri is placed by both Maspero, *l. c.*, and Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 117, at Hussenieh on the Aft ab.

were outposts which Shutur nahundi had fortified against Iatburu, as one of the versions would have us believe,[24] or whether these were towns of Iatburu and it was the towns of Ahilimmu and Pillutu[25] that were Elamitish, as the other asserts,[26] we cannot pretend to know. The commanders of these cities, Sadunu and Sinlishshibu,[27] were forced to surrender, together with nearly twenty thousand soldiers, over a third of whom were Elamitish. In addition, there was taken much booty of wagons, horses, mules, asses, and camels. Samuna was rebuilt and named Bel ikisha. While still in camp here, tribute was received from a number of Iatburu chiefs whose tribes[28] were settled on the banks of the Naditu.[29] The operations came to an end with the conquest of certain important towns in Rashi,[30] Til Humba, Dunni Shamash, Bube, and Hamanu.[31] The inhabitants retired to

[24] A. 278.

[25] Andreas, *art. Alexandreia,* 13, *Pauly-Wissowa, Real Encyl.,* identifies Pillutu with the Pagum Pellæum of Plin., VI. 138. Billerbeck, *op. cit.,* 118, places it at Desht i Gulam, Maspero, *l. c.,* at Tepe Ghulamen.

[26] A. 283 *f.*

[27] Or perhaps Singamshibu, as Winckler, *ad loc.*

[28] These were Mushezibu, Natnu, Ailunu, Daizzanu of the land of Lahiru, Airimmu, the komarch of Sulaia. Winckler for this last reads Bel Mahazu as a proper name since C. has VI *nasikate* but II. 26 which he seems not to have used reads only V and this is preferable. Lahiru or Lahirimmu is placed by Billerbeck, *l. c.,* in a side valley of the Aft ab; by Maspero, *l. c.,* at Jughai ben Ruan. The duplicate 283–84 has the city Lahira of the land of Iadibiru, Sulaia, Zu(?)-?-muk, Samu'na, Babduri, Lahirimmu, Pillutu.

[29] The Naditu is the Aft ab according to Maspero, *l. c.,* and Billerbeck, *op. cit.,* 116. According to the latter, here was the fort of Nabu damiq ilani of A. 368. Cf. the city Naditu of Sennacherib, *Prism,* IV. 59.

[30] Rashi is the upper Pusht i Kuh region, according to Maspero, *Empires, l. c.,* and Billerbeck, *op. cit.,* 120. The latter believes the Rashi expedition to be separate.

[31] Til Humba evidently has the name of the old Elamitish god Humba. It is Gilan, according to Billerbeck, *op. cit.,* 124. Dunni

Bit Imbi,[32] which does not seem to have been taken, while Shutur nahundi, the instigator of all this resistance, retired to the mountains.[33] That he should have been engaged here while the Assyrians further south were striving to find a road to his capital shows how safe he felt that to be behind its mountain walls. How thorough all this conquest was is shown by the fact that Sargon's own son, Sennacherib, informs us that some of it was already lost in the days of his father.[34]

While these two divisions had been conquering the country east of the Tigris and thus driving a wedge between Elam and Babylonia, Sargon, with the main army, was moving directly upon Babylon. Here, for twelve years,[35] Merodach Baladan had held his own. Even if not a native patriot, as the earlier scholars assumed,[36] he was still looked upon as

Shamash he places, *l. c.*, at Desht i Kasimban, Bube on the Kanischend Rud. cf. Sennacherib, *Prism*, IV. 51, and Hamanu at the pass from Kifraur valley.

[32] Maspero, *l. c.*, and Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 122 *f.*, place Bit Imbi in Desht i Gaur, a very fertile region and a road center. It was a royal city, Sennacherib, *Prism*, IV. 54; Ashur bani pal, *Rm. Cyl.*, IV. 124.

[33] A. 285 *ff.* Here should be placed the names of D. 18 *ff.*, and P. IV. 71 *ff.*, cf. Billerbeck, *Mitth. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1898, 2, 35 *ff.*— Here we may place K. 7299 = H. 799 from Shamash bel uçur, eponym in 710 where we are told that the king of Elam went on the 11 Tammuz to Bit Bunaki and on the 13 to land of U. On the edge is a reference to Balasu (Belysis).

[34] Prism IV. 43 *ff.* The towns which are distinctly said to have been taken from the Assyrian territory are Bit Ha'iri and Raça. But other towns which Sargon claims to have conquered, such as Bube, Dunni Shamash, Bit Imbia, Til Humbi, are again taken as foreign places. Again, at the battle of Halulu, Sennacherib is opposed by many of these conquered tribes such as Hindaru, Rapiqu, Ru'a, Gambulu, Puqudu, Bit Amukkana, Samuna, Sulai, etc. Prism, V. 30 *ff.*

[35] A. 228; *Bab. Chron.*, II. 1.

[36] Cf. n. 2. For an ancient appreciation of the fact that the Chaldaeans were not the same as the Babylonians, see Strabo, XVI. 1. 6.

a foreign deliverer by a large anti-Assyrian party, whose property had been confiscated and who had been imprisoned during the last period of foreign rule.[37] The majority of our documents come from the priestly class, who would naturally favor so pious a king as Sargon, but their version should not make us forget that there must have been a large military class and a still larger commercial one which was the natural enemy of Assyria.

In his inscriptions Sargon tells us that the Chaldaean usurper imprisoned the leading men of the land, although they had committed no crime, and confiscated their property.[38] No doubt this is all true enough. But when Merodach Baladan did all this he was only inflicting on the pro-Assyrian party severities which they themselves had employed on their rivals of the other party. In the royal charter granting lands to Bel ahe erba,[39] we are told of lands torn from their rightful owners, of forgotten boundaries and destroyed boundary stones, and all this took place in the days when the Assyrian enemy devastated the land and "there was no king" in Babylon. Peaceable people must indeed have suffered when the land was torn between the two factions, and could have had as little love for one as the other.

While, therefore, the accusations of the two enemies throw light on the conduct of each other, Sargon is deliberately telling an untruth, when he states that Merodach Baladan did not respect the gods, but removed them and allowed their sacrifices to fall into neglect. If the Babylonian priesthood remained hostile to the Chaldaean, it was from no lack

[37] See the discussion of the boundary charter under Sources, chap. I. n. 56.

[38] A. 359 *ff.*

[39] Cf. n. 37.

of effort on his part to win them over. Like all other foreign conquerors of Babylon, he became a votary of the gods of the land. Thus, in the above-mentioned inscription, we have the same glorification of Marduk, Nabu and Ea, the same recognition of dependence on them, as we meet in those of the native rulers. Nor was this homage confined to words alone. He adorned and rebuilt the ancient temples, one of which was that of Nana at Uruk,[40] and provided for their maintenance and their revenues.[41] Special attention, too, was given to the ancient and revered cities of Sippar, Nippur, and Babylon.[42] It is therefore probable that the mass of the people were well enough content with his rule. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand why he so easily won back Babylon so soon after Sargon died.

The settlement of Merodach Baladan at the gates of Assyria was a grave danger, for it was a constant incitement to the other subject states to follow the example of a successful revolt. In addition, there were sentimental reasons which would induce any Assyrian ruler, much more one so religious and so interested in antiquity as Sargon, to attempt the conquest. This constant desire to conquer the seemingly eternal city of Babylon, "seize the hands of Bel," and thus become the vice gerent of Marduk on earth, has been well compared with the equally constant desire of the Germanic kings to be crowned emperor at Rome.[43] In many ways the attitude of respectful mastership assumed by Rome in her dealings with Greece would be a comparison more to the point. But neither is close enough. We have here no for-

[40] Brick I. R. 5. XVII in the pavement at the base of the Bowarieh mound at Warka. Transliterated and translated by Winckler, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, 1892, 184.

[41] Boundary Stone, II. 4 *ff.*

[42] *Ib.* II. 8 *ff.*; III. 10 *ff.*

[43] Winckler, *Sargon*, XXXIII.

eign countries separated as much by barriers of speech and custom as by sea or mountain. In its origin Assyria seems to have been a Babylonian colony. In language there was less difference than between Athens and Sparta. The only natural boundary was the line of the alluvium, and that was no barrier. On the other hand, the two great navigable rivers, the numberless canals, the roads with easy grades, all brought the two countries into close relations with each other. The result was what might have been expected. To the end Assyria was like Rome, the faithful copyist of Babylonia in most that did not relate to war or government. In art, in literature, in law, even in the trivial details of everyday life, Assyria leaned upon Babylon. Above all, this was true of religion, although Assyria did indeed have a national Ashur cult. But even this could not prevent the older gods of the south from usurping to a considerable degree his place. The earlier Assyrian kings could ascribe victory to Ashur. The later ones did not feel their world empire sure until Bel Marduk of Babylon had allowed them to seize his hands in the "city of the lord of gods." [44]

Sargon seems to have collected his troops at Ashur, which he perhaps inhabited at this time. He then would have moved down the west bank of the Tigris and crossed the Euphrates, probably at Falujah, where the last hills retreat from the river.[45] From here he entered the country of Bit

[44] D. 124.

[45] It is possible that this is the place where Trajan crossed. Phalga is mentioned by Arrian, *Parthica*, X = Frag. 7, Steph. Byz. *s. v.* It is there observed that the word means middle which would agree with Falujeh from root f l j. The following fragments are in Babylonia. In fact, frag. 8, from the same book X, is Choke near Seleucia and the Tigris. The preceding fragments seem to point to a line like that followed by Sargon, along the Tigris, *e. g.*, frag. 6, from Book IX, is Libanai, a city of (As)syria near Hatra. A pontoon bridge was made across the Tigris at the Carduchian mountains, Dio Cassius, LXVIII.

Dakkuri,[46] not perhaps without a battle, where he found the ruined fort of Dur Ladina, about where we now have the sacred city of Kerbela. As this was a good outpost against Babylon, it was rebuilt and garrisoned. The position of Merodach Baladan had now become untenable. On the west, Dur Ladina, on the north Kutha[47] were in the hands of the Assyrians, and each was but a few miles from Babylon. On the east the whole of the Elamitish foothills had

26. 2, and Arbela passed, *ib.* 4. What other evidence we have seems to indicate that the march was, as might be expected, along the usual route across Mesopotamia close to the mountains and thence down the Tigris. The very unusual route straight down the Euphrates has only one point in its favor and many against, but this one point is difficult to get rid of. Phalga is said to be half way between Seleucia and Pieria and to be in Mesopotamia; and this statement is confirmed by the detailed itinerary in Isidore of Charax, where Phalga or Phaliga occupies a position corresponding to the later Circesium. Since the position of a Phalga is thus fixed, we must either, on the strength of this one quotation and against natural probability and the general tenor of the other pertinent passages, make the troops go by the Euphrates route direct, or we must assume a confusion, either in the mind of Arrian or of Stephen, between the Babylonian Falujah and the better known town of the same name near the Roman frontier. In the condition of our sources, scanty and mutilated as they are, it is impossible to come to a definite conclusion, but I incline to the second.

[46] Bit Dakkuri is placed by Winckler, map, and Billerbeck, map, west of the Euphrates and of Babylon. *Bab. Chron.*, II. 2, seems to place here a regular battle. —Here also seems to belong K. 114 = H. 542 = IV. R. 46. 1 (53. 1). Information is sent the king that Bit Dakkuri has sent to make common cause with Merodach Baladan. The forces of Bit Dakkuri now seem to be at Bit Qa. It is hoped they will proceed to Bab Bit Qa. The king sent a message to the governor Ana Nabu takkalla. Reference is made to the son of Iashunu with his clan who were settled somewhere. Daini is also mentioned. The land of Rabiti has been brought back and the strongholds have been occupied.

[47] Assyrian control of Kutha seems proved by the absence of any mention of its capture by Sargon. This seems to be confirmed by Rm. 2, 97 where under 719 we have the building of a Nergal temple, seemingly the great one at that place.

fallen into their hands, and a part of their troops was already working their way through the swamps toward Dur Iakin and threatening his rear.

He was accordingly forced to retreat. At first he withdrew to Iatbur along the Tigris.[48] From here he sent a "tribute," as the Assyrian writer sarcastically calls his presents to Shutur nahundi, begging for Elamitish aid. The Assyrian insinuates that Shutur nahundi did not come, because he did not wish to, and portrays with deep feeling

[48] Here again, equally with its connection with the Uknu swamps, we see that Iatbur is much more to the south than is usually assumed. If we locate Iatbur as I do, it would be perfectly natural for Merodach Baladan to take the direct road east to Susa and then, finding this road blocked by the Assyrian advance, to fall back southeast to Dur Iakin. On the other hand, it is absurd to suppose that he fled far to the northeast and then retraced his steps through country already conquered by Sargon. Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 114 n., believes that Merodach Baladan fled to Iatbur early in the year and then returned to Babylon. This is not only unsupported by any direct evidence, but, as it seems to me, is difficult to understand in the light of the topography and of the statements of the sources themselves. It is the news of these earlier expeditions of Sargon, threatening his flank and even his rear, which were, as we are expressly told in A. 288 *ff.*, the cause of his retreat to Iatbur. But then all the region about Dur Athara and to the north was in the hands of Sargon and so retreat to or through these was impossible. A. 291 *ff.* shows what he was trying to do, to get in touch with Elam and to do this he would naturally try the direct road to Susa. When he found this road blocked by Dur Athara which was now in Assyrian hands, he naturally retreated. This was first to Iqbi Bel and then to Dur Iakin. Between the two parts of the retreat, the Assyrian scribes put the entrance of Sargon into Babylon and I do not see why this should not be accepted. But if so, then the retreat to Iqbi Bel is part of the retreat to Dur Iakin. At any rate, I do not see how he could have gone back to Babylon. It seems to me that my reconstruction of the military operations is clear. I cannot understand the military reasons which compelled these operations according to Billerbeck's theory. *Bab. Chron.*, II. 3, says that Merodach Baladan fled to Elam and puts it under 710. The whole general condition seems to prove that either the *Bab. Chron.* is mistaken or, more probably, that *ana* means "towards" in this place.

the scene which took place when Merodach Baladan learned the news, how he threw himself on the ground, tore his clothes, and filled the air with his loud lamentations. As we have already seen, the Elamite king was busy in the north at this time and perhaps did not know of the plight of his ally. Besides, he had all the fighting he needed in this part of the field.

As Merodach Baladan was unable by himself to break through to Elam and as Shutur nahundi could not or would not come to his aid, he was forced to fall back along the Tigris to Iqbi Bel, perhaps the present Amara.[49]

With the retreat of Merodach Baladan, Babylon opened its gates. In long procession, the citizens of Babylon and Borsippa, magistrates, trade guilds, artisans, carried to Sargon, as he lay encamped at Dur hadina, the greeting of the great gods, Bel Marduk and Zarpanit, Nabu and Tashmit. The envoys were received graciously by the pious monarch, who showed by his sacrifices his respect for the old order of things.[50] It was now late in the year, and New Year's Day was approaching. Sargon resolved to "seize the hands of Bel" himself and thus assume personal rule over Babylon.

[49] Iqbi Bel seems to have been on the banks of the Tigris, above Dur Iakin. If Merodach Baladan actually advanced as far as Dur Athara (Serboa Kherib), he would naturally fall back first to 'Amara at the junction of the Tib and the Tigris.—A. 287 *ff.*; D. 121 *ff.*

K. 7426 = H. 30 is from Arad Ea, evidently not the well-known physician who lived later, Johnston, *Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, 1897, 1, 160. Reference is made to Merodach Baladan and there is a direct address to Sargon by name. Unfortunately, it is too mutilated to be translated.

It would seem as if the Chaldaean Belibni who was later made king of Babylon by Sennacherib was at this time carried to Assyria to be educated at Sargon's court, cf. *Bellino Cyl.*, 13.

[50] A. 296 *ff.* In three years Sargon gave over 150 talents of gold and 1600 of silver besides much bronze, iron, stone, wood, and clothing to the Babylonian gods, D. 140 *ff.*

For the approaching ceremony the old canal of Borsippa was restored in order that it might be used as the festival street along which Nabu might pass to greet Marduk on this auspicious day.

Sargon now went into winter quarters at Babylon where the tribute of some of the Arimi, or Aramaeans, of the Bit Amukani, and of Bit Dakkuri, was received. At the same time the conquest of North Babylonia was completed by the subjugation of the Hamarana, one of the "helper" tribes of Merodach Baladan. They had retreated across the Euphrates before the Assyrian advance and established themselves in Sippar. The Babylonians attempted to drive them out, but failed. An Assyrian force was detached from the main body and sent under a governor against them. A wall of circumvallation was thrown around Sippar and the Hamarana were forced to surrender.[51]

The great prize was now Sargon's. On New Year's Day he "seized the hands of Bel" and became king of Babylon with all due pomp and ceremony.[52] A month was still needed for the settlement of Babylon, and then, in the month of May, he set out for his final attack on Merodach Baladan. On his advance, the Chaldaean fell back to Dur Iakin[53]

[51] A. 301 *ff.*—Perhaps here belongs K. 507 = H. 88 = Delitzsch, *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, II. 32 *ff.*, a letter written by Tab çil esharra from Ashur to the king who is elsewhere, seemingly further north. The cause of its sending is to excuse Nabu bel shumate the qepu of Birat who could not visit the king at the appointed time because he must, with his forces, drive back the Uppai who have plundered Sippar. Is it possible that this indicates that Sargon was not with any of the armies attacking Babylon?

Many of these conquests were not permanent as Sennacherib was compelled to reconquer them, *Prism*, V. 51 *ff.*

[52] A. 309 *ff.* Tiele takes this to be in 710, since the Annals places it under year XII, *Gesch.*, 276, but this is only the usual anticipation.

[53] Andreas, *art. Alexandreia*, 13, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encykl.*, identifies Dur Iakin with the *urbs regia Durine* of Plin., *H. N.*, VI 138, and

in the marshes of the Mar Marrati,[54] the swamps at the head of the Persian Gulf. Here he prepared to make his last stand. The nomad troops were collected, the city fortified, and a canal from the Euphrates brought around the place, the bridges destroyed, and the whole country made a morass by the breaking down of the dams. Outside the walls, earthworks were thrown up and troops posted in them.

"Like eagles" Sargon's troops crossed the streams and advanced to the attack. The nomads were forced back and a hand-to-hand conflict took place before the walls. Merodach Baladan was wounded in the arm and obliged to take refuge within the city. His troops, nevertheless, Puqudu, Marsamai, Sute,[55] resisted to the last and were slaughtered before the gate. Rich booty was taken, including the king's furniture and plate,[56] in addition to captives and the various domestic animals. For three days the city was given over to plunder. Then it was burned, its towers thrown down, its very foundations torn up, and the place given over to utter ruin.

Yet the real object of the expedition was not accomplished. Merodach Baladan escaped, as one of the versions is forced to admit. Other versions, indeed, give the history as it

also with the Aginis, *s. v.*, of Strabo, XV. 3. 5. The place must be somewhere near Qorneh, quite probably at the small nearby hill of Jebel Beni Mançur, Billerbeck, *Mitth. Vorderasiat. Gesell.*, 1898, 2, 47. Dieulafoy, *Suse*, 63, suggests Durak Gadim, a tumulus northeast of Mohammereh. The identity of name is remarkable, but I cannot satisfy myself that Dur Iakin lay so far south or east. If it actually did, there must be some changes in our generally accepted topography.

[54] According to Andreas, *op. cit., art.* Aginis, this is the Melitene of Ptol. VI. 3. 3.

[55] Sute was a common word for nomad, cf. W. M. Müller, *Asien*, 20, 46; Winckler, *Forsch.*, II. 254, reads Shuth in Ezek. 23^{23} and compares the Sittakenoi of Arr. Anab. III. 8. 5.

[56] In one version, they are nearly all gold, in the other nearly all silver. What was the original material?

should have been, with Merodach Baladan as a captive or as a pardoned rebel with his tribute paid and his fortresses dismantled, but the course of later events proves that he did indeed escape. He remained safe in the marshes of the extreme south until Sargon died, when once more, for a short time, he held the throne of Babylonia.[57]

The remainder of the year was taken up with the settlement of affairs in South Babylonia. The political prisoners from Babylon, Sippar, Nippur, and Borsippa, were freed from their confinement at Dur Iakin and restored to their homes and lands. Religion once more became supreme. The gods were restored to the cities and new buildings erected. The whole of the region along the Elamitish border, Dur Iakin included, was settled by captives from Qummuh, hardly a wise proceeding for the change from the cold bracing highlands along the upper Euphrates to the hot, fever-laden swamps of this region must have soon proved fatal to the majority of them. A strong fort was built against Elam at Sagbat by Nabu damiq ilani, who seems to be the governor of Gambulu mentioned immediately after. The control of this frontier was confided to him and to the governor of Babylon.[58]

[57] A. 317 *ff.*; D. 126 *ff.*; *Bab. Chron.*, II. 6; Rm. 2, 97.

[58] A Nabu damiq alani is given by Johns, *Deeds*, III. 119, but is hardly this person. Sagbat is clearly not the Bit Sagbat of A. 69. Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 97, 116, places it at Kala Janshur, at the Aft ab pass to the east of Dur ilu. Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 96, speaks "von der Gründung einer neuen Stadt Nabu damiq ilani 'ina(mhz) Sagbad." I do not see how he gets this. The Nabu damiq ilani has the sign of the person before it. It would therefore be possible to take it as Sagbat of the man Nabu damiq ilani and compare the Dur Bel Harran Bel uçur which that official founded, see Scheil, *Rec. de Trav.*, 1894 (XVI), 176 *ff.* The rarity of such an action and the unlikelihood of a ruler publishing such an act of almost actual usurpation of sovereign power, especially when he never names his governors at all, makes this very unlikely. But if this will not go, then there seems to be

At almost the same time Sargon's vanity was flattered by "tribute" from two distant islands at the two extreme corners of the known world. We have already seen the reason for his relations with Cyprus. What led Uperi, king of Tilmun, a half mythical island lying a sixty hours' journey down the gulf, "like a fish in the sea," to open relations with Sargon is not so clear. Probably it was for commercial reasons. If Tilmun was indeed the present Bahrein, we may perhaps see in it a wish to secure a market for the pearls which have made the island so famous in modern times.[59]

Sargon remained for some time in Babylonia, receiving the submission of the natives and attempting to put affairs in order.[60] In 707 all seemed to be quiet, or at least matters were becoming more serious to the north. The king returned to Assyria, after having brought back the gods of the

only one other possibility and that is to translate *eli miçir Elamtu ina Sagbat Nabu damiq ilani ana shuprus shapa Elami usharkis birtu* exactly as Winckler does, "gegen das gebiet van Elam liess ich Nabu damqu ilani in Sagbat, um die Elamiter aufzuhalten, eine festung bauen." For this sense of *usharkis*, see Muss Arnolt, *s. v., rakasu*. I therefore do not see how I can take it otherwise than in the text.

[59] A. 359 *ff.*; *D.* 134 *ff.*; 144 *f.*—This Tilmun is no doubt the Tylos of Arr. Anab., VII. 20. 12; Artemidorus, in Steph. Byz., *s. v.*; Ptol. VI. 7. 47; Pliny, H. N., VI. 28. 148. The last speaks of its pearl fisheries. It is now the island of Bahrein where pearl fisheries are still carried on, cf. S. M. Zwemer, *Arabia* [1900], 97 *ff.* For discussion, cf. Oppert, *Journal Asiatique*, 1880, I. 90 *ff.*; H. Rawlinson, *Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 1880, 201 *ff.* For the ancient ruins still there, see Durand, *Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 1880, 189 *ff.*

[60] H. 196, *e. g.*, is a letter from Sennacherib in Kalhu to his father Sargon who seems still to be in Babylon. Under 708, the *Bab. Chron.*, has *ina*, "in," *mati*, "land," is generally supplied. A statement that there was no war seems rather out of place in a Babylonian chronicle which does not go by years, and is not parallel elsewhere. I should compare Rm. 2, 97, under 710, and read *ina Kesh* (*ki*), "in Kesh," or *ina Babili*, "in Babylon." The second part of 708 in Rm. 2, 97, as I now think, (*amel*)-*pehu shakin*, "a governor appointed," would rather refer to Babylon than to Qummuh.

sea lands to their ancestral seats, taking with him a body of captives to be settled there.[61] But these northern troubles seem once more to have aroused the south, and the settlers placed in Dur Iakin were driven out in 706.[62] In 705 we have the news of a capture of Dur Iakin. By this time

[61] II. R. 69 reads "On the *22* of Tashrit, the gods of Dur Sharrukin" and this has generally, with Tiele, *Gesch.*, 281, been taken to refer to a great festival procession which took place when the gods entered the new city. But *Bab. Chron.*, II. 8, under year XV, on the same day of the same month says that the gods of the sealands to their places came back. I do not quite see how Dur Sharrukin came to take the place of (*mat*) *tamdim*, but the agreement of date and of so many signs makes me feel sure that the two refer to the same fact. This literal agreement of signs seems to point to some connection between the two documents. The *Chronicle* continues "BAD.MESh were established in Assyria." Winckler, *Keilinschr. Bibl., ad loc.*, refuses a translation, Barta, in Harper, *Literature*, 201, reads *dame*, "bloods," and so makes it refer to sacrifices made in Assyria. I am now a little inclined to compare Brünnow, 1525, *nisu*, "remove," perhaps *nisute*, "those who were removed, *i. e.*, the captives, were settled in Assyria." II. R. 69 also reads under 707 *issuhra ga rab* (*pl*) *shal-lu*. Schrader, *Keilinschr. Bibl., ad loc.*, considers *ga rab* (*pl*) an easy mistake for *ekallati*, "palaces." But then we do not know what to do with the *shal-lu*. Schrader considers them to be an error for the longer form of *u* which they do closely resemble. But it is more natural to supply *shal-lu-*[*te*, "captive." This then throws doubt on the "houses." An easy correction for *ga rab* (*pl*) is *ilani rabute*, "the great gods." The line is then to be read with the one succeeding. "He returned the great gods who were capti[ve. On the XXII of Tashrit the gods of (the sea land) [to their places came back]." Rm. *2*, 97, under 707 states that the king returned from Babylon, which agrees with the second part of *Bab. Chron.*

[62] Rm. *2*, 97, under 706 read *sha* (*al*) *Dur Iakin naça*. Winckler reads "von D. wurde vertrieben (?)." I would translate "He of Dur Iakin was driven out." For this use of *sha*, cf. Muss-Arnolt, *e. g.*, *sha bit çibitti*, "prisoner." Is *sha* here rather taken collectively? Under 705, Rm. *2*, 97, has only *Dur Iakin nabil*, "Dur Iakin was destroyed." The failure to remark the death of Sargon is noteworthy. In this it seems to agree with *Bab. Chron.*, another point seeming to show a southern connection for Rm. *2*, 97.

it would seem as if South Babylonia was all in revolt. For a time Sennacherib was able to hold Babylon and the North, but even this finally went over to Merodach Baladan, who once more for a short while held rule over all Babylonia.[68]

[68] The whole history of this later part of Sargon's reign and the first part of Sennacherib is very obscure, especially as it relates to Babylon. The text furnishes only a working hypothesis.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LAST YEARS

With the accession of Argishtish II[1] to the throne of Haldia, about the year 711, the situation became once more as serious as it had been under Rusash. As usual, the new king was more anxious for war than his father, and hostilities, which seem to have been intermitted for two or three years, broke out anew. The first year or two of his reign seems to have been spent in building for himself a new city, Argishtihina, whose ruins are probably to be found at Arjish,[2] and in constructing a reservoir for it.[3]

In 710 the opportunity seemed to have come. Sargon was in Babylonia with his best troops and engaged with powerful enemies who, if allied with Argishtish, as seems to have been the case, would no doubt call upon him to make a diversion. For the events of these last few years we depend, not on the edited documents intended to glorify the king, but on the very letters which passed between the generals in the field and the king himself or his son, Sennacherib, who was left in charge of the north with headquarters at Kalhu, while his father was at Babylon.[4] Thus,

[1] Argishtish appears as Argista in the letters and as Argisti in D. 113. Argishtu is mentioned in the inscription of an unknown Assyrian king from Dehok, Belck and Lehmann, *Sitzungsber. Berl. Acad.*, 1900, 624, no. 12.

[2] H. Lynch, *Armenia*, 1901, II. 29.

[3] No. 130, 131 of Belck and Lehmann, *l. c.*

[4] In K. 125 = H. 196; also Winckler, *Sammlung*, II. 16; Johns, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1895, 236 *f.*; *Bab. and Assyr. Laws, Contracts and Letters*, 1904, 345, we have a letter from Sennacherib sending some Qummuh chiefs on to his father at Babylon. In K. 5464 = H. 198,

in spite of the difficulty of interpretation and of arrangement, we are enabled to gain a far more correct and more vivid idea of the campaigns than we can for any other part of the reign.[5]

Our first letters would seem to come from the winter of 710–9, when Sargon was already in control of Babylon. At this time Argishtish seems to have been collecting his troops at his new city of Argishtihina, which lay on the north side and might therefore be supposed to be out of sight from the Assyrians. But Sargon had a good intelligence department, and rumors began to reach him. Ashur riçua, for

also Winckler, *op. cit.*, II. 8; Johns, *Proc.*, 230 *ff.*; *Laws*, 339 *ff.*; Sennacherib, again writing to his father, says that a messenger has come to Kalhu. In Rm. 2, 2, 14 = H. 730, Johns, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1895, 238 *ff.*, also by Sennacherib, we have references to Nabu from Kalhu and to Nabu etir napshati, according to Sargon, 12, 45, the scribe of the governor of that city.

[5] The Assyrian letters, after a few had been published in desultory fashion, are now being edited as a complete corpus by Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*. References to other publications of individual texts are given under each separate letter. The first collection of letters dealing with this period was given by Johns, *Proc.*, 1895, 220 *ff.* Later Thompson, *Amer. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, 1901, 162 *ff.*, gave an important sketch of the history to be gained from these letters but gave no extended quotations. Some letters are still known only from his references. Although he was mistaken in placing these events in the time of Rusash, as is now quite clear, he grasped the general arrangement of the material that was required, and I have quite generally followed his order. On the basis of his notes, I began the study of the untranslated letters he pointed out, so far as they were published, but was forced to lay aside the work when I began to prepare for Syria. On my return, I found that this work was rendered useless by the translations of all the published texts referring to the Armenian wars by Johns, *Laws*, 338 *ff.* Aside from this group, my work on the letters has been sporadic. Some references to them will be found in other chapters. During the last year, I collected a considerable mass of data in preparation for an assignment of these letters to various reigns and to historic events or groups of events.

example, who so often appears in these events,[6] was ordered to send one of his spies to Turushpa, the older capital of Haldia, on the site of the present Van,[7] whence a raid might be expected.[8] As a result, perhaps, of this investigation, Ashur riçua next learned that Argishtish had now entered Turushpa and had there captured the second tartan, Urçine,[9] with his Assyrian army. The tartan, it would seem, had advanced incautiously, thinking that the Haldian was still at Argistihina. Now his brother, Apli uknu, had gone off to see him, presumably under a truce, and was about to investigate the cause of the capture. The near approach of the Haldian army had quite naturally led to disaffection among Sargon's soldiers, many of them captives who had seen their homes destroyed and relatives killed by the men who now forced them to fight their cause. Narage, a *rab kiçir,* plotted revolt, and was followed by twenty of his men. Ashur riçua, however, detected it in time and the plotters were sent back from the front.[10] Another example of the disaffection felt may be seen in a letter from Sha Ashur dubbu, governor of Tushhan. Two officers and six men were sent with warrants,—seal in hand, the Assyrian says,—for deserters in Penza on the Haldian frontier.

[6] Johns, *Laws,* 341, is no doubt correct in making him the head scribe of the harem, Sarg 12, 45, Strassmaier, *Alphabet. Verzeich.,* 880, dated Kalhu, 709.

[7] For the various forms of Turushpa or Tushpa, the classical Lake Thospites, the Armenian Tosp, cf. Sayce, *Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.,* 1882.

[8] K. 1907 = H. 148. Badly mutilated and little to be gotten out of it. Cf. Thompson, *l. c.,* 163, and Johns, *Laws,* 342.

[9] Is he the *amel shanute* to whom Ashur riçua writes a very urgent letter, 81-7-27, 199 = H. 382, requesting a reply to his former message? If so, then perhaps he was already a prisoner and this just precedes the next letter quoted, n. 10.

[10] K. 194 = H. 144, a letter of Ashur riçua, referred to Thompson, 164, and Johns, 341 *f.* The second part does not seem to refer to the war.

While on their way they fell into an ambush set by a Shuprian whose brother had just been treacherously eating with them to throw them off their guard. Fortunately they escaped. The governor has ordered a guard,—for he has cavalry as well as infantry,—to be stationed here and will carry on a full investigation.[11] Another letter of his gives further news of the Penza affair, it would seem, as well as of conditions on the frontier. A messenger of Bagteshub has brought news from the front, but Bagteshub himself has not obeyed orders, and a copy of the reprimand sent him is given.[12]

Frontier conditions were certainly growing alarming. Akkul anu was cut off and besought the king for a reply.[14] Another letter from Upahhir Bel, governor of Ameda, reports that he is still in Harda and has sent a scout to the frontier. The governor of an unknown city, perhaps Akkulanu, has sent asking aid. Upahhir Bel replies by urging him to remain shut up close in his forts and he will deliver him.[14] But this must have been a boast which Upahhir Bel was unable to fulfil, for when we next hear of him he has been forced to fall back, and Haldian officials are at Harda,

[11] K. 469 = H. 138; Johnston, *Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, 1897, 152 *f.* = Harper, *Literature*, 247.

[12] K. 1067 = H. 139, cf. Johnston, *op. cit.*, 151.

[13] K. 604 = H. 444; Smith, *Ashur bani pal*, II. 15; Delitzsch, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, I. 222.

[14] K. 593 = H. 548, cf. Johns, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1902, 297, and *Laws*, 344. Johns is perfectly justified in attributing it to Upahhir Bel as the reconstruction shows. But he makes one very curious error. A slightly mutilated line which can be restored only as (*amel*)*aqi*, "messenger," and noting that he was sent to Haldia according to orders from the king, is read Argista by Johns. He then, neglecting the fact that the appeal and reply relate to a governor, reconstructs the history in a rather surprising way, making this a submission of the Haldian king to Assyrian suzerainty on account of the Cimmerian invasion!

his old quarters. From here to Turushpa, where the king still was, they keep guard. There is no immediate danger of attack, for a captured letter from Argishtish to the governor of Harda forbids for the present further advance. The Ituai, who seem to have been a sort of military caste, have been called in. The palace Ituai who has come from the Euphrates has gone off with one or two "houses" of the governor's *sukalli.* The Ituai who inspected beams at Eziat has been sent of with the *rab ali,* or mayor, to the front. An engagement has taken place and the Assyrians have been worsted. The enemy lost only three wounded, while the Assyrians suffered a loss of two killed and ten wounded, including the lieutenant of the *rab ali.* Upahhir Bel is now at Shuruba and must have an army there by harvest time to support him.[15]

But still worse news was to come to Sennacherib, for while Argishtish was still at Turushpa sacrificing, and with all his governors around him, ready for an advance, the Mannai, whose traditional policy was to side with Assyria, broke away and made a raid on Assyrian territory. Analuqunu, the governor of Muçaçir, and Tunnaun, governor of Karsitu,[16] hastened to the boundary, but the Mannai had already retreated. Such was the news of Ashur riçua.[17] Gabbu ana Ashur, who had arrived at his province of Kurban,[18] in Tammuz (July), sends in a report a month later, in Ab. On his arrival he sent messengers to Nabu liu, Ashur bel danan, and Ashur riçua, who were at the forts

[15] S. 760 = H. 424; S. A. Smith, *Ashur bani pal,* III. 53 *ff.*; van Gelderen, XIX; Johns, *Laws,* 344.

[16] Johns reads Kar Sippar.

[17] 81-2-4, 55 = H. 381; Harper, *Amer. Jour. Sem. Lang.,* 1897, 212; van Gelderen, IX; Johns, *Laws,* 342; *Thompson,* 164.

[18] Floods are reported in Kurban by Sennacherib in the letter 81-7-27, 41 = H. 731. These occurred in 708, cf. Johns, *Laws,* 345.

immediately before the enemy. Now the messengers have returned and report that Argishtish is still in Turushpa.[19] From another letter we learn that there were ten Assyrian generals operating in this region.[20] About the same time must have taken place the revolt of the Zikirtai.[21]

The events of this year had been most favorable for Haldia. On the northwest Mutallu of Qummuh had been drawn away.[22] Then along the whole southern boundary of Haldia an advance had been made and disaffection was spreading in the enemy's ranks. The situation seemed black enough for Assyria, with even the Zikirtai and their faithful Mannai gone.

The operations of the next year, 708, were no more calculated to restore confidence to Sargon. At the beginning of Nisan (April), Argishtish at last advanced, first to Qaniun[23] and then to Eliççadu where he was met by the levy from all Armenia.[24] Meanwhile, Qaqqadanu, his tartan, had been sent on to Uesi with four other officers.[25] After

[19] K. 574 = H. 123. Cf. Thompson, 164 and Johns, 343. The latter does not name the letter he quotes from.

[20] K. 1182 = H. 619, cf. Johns, *Laws*, 345.—K. 910 = H. 145, cf. Johns, *Laws*, 342, is a letter from Ashur riçua to the *abarakku*, concerning the Ukkai messenger. A somewhat similar letter from him is forwarded by Tab çil Ashur to the king, K. 561 = H. 101, cf. Johns, *Laws*, 342.

[21] K. 1037 = H. 215; Winckler, *Sammlung*, II. 13; Thompson, 164, from the same Bagteshub who is reprimanded by Sha Ashur dubbu, cf. n. 12. The revolt of the Mannai is known and reference is made to a city Shulman? . . .

[22] Cf. chap. V. 53.

[23] K. 645 = H. 444; van Gelderen, IV; Thompson, 164; Johns, *Laws*, 344.

[24] 81-2-4, 60 = H. 492; Thompson, 164; Johns, 341; from Ashur riçau.

[25] The other officials were Setinu of . . . teni, Sakuata of Qaniun, Siplia of Alzi, Tutu of Armiraliu. Johns, *l. c.*, is probably correct in attributing this to Ashur riçua. This advance is also mentioned in

a long delay, during which he received the tribute of the Zikirtai, the king left Eliççadu and himself went to Uesi. His forces at this time were said to be few. By this time it was already Elul (September).[26] Here he seems to have remained until the beginning of the next year.[27] But while still in Uesi, apparently before the winter closed in, he sent against Muçaçir a body of three thousand men with baggage camels under Setinu, one of his governors. But Suna, the Assyrian general in charge of the Ukkai country, who had already put down a revolt at home,[28] learned of this and hurried to Muçaçir to head him off. This he succeeded in doing, although not before the enemy had crossed the Çalmat river.[29] This was the first victory, it would appear, of all the operations. An attempt was made to push the advantage home. The commanders of Uesi and Ukkai,[30] the latter Suna, of course, came to Muçaçir, sacrificed in the famous temple, and then advanced, the result being that Argishtish fell back to Uesi. This information was sent the king by no less a person than Urzana, king of Muçaçir, the former friend of Rusash. He now protests his loyalty

81–2–4, 60. Johns, *l. c.*, mentions directly after these operations the fact that according to an unpublished text, the commander of Uesi was slain. One gains the impression that the Assyrian governor of Uesi was killed as a result of these movements. But reference to Thompson, 165, shows that the governor of Uesi was one of the numerous Haldian nobles who were slain in the great battle with the Cimmerians.

[26] Letter of Ashur riçua quoted by Sennacherib, K. 5464 = H. 198, also Winckler, *Sammlung*, II. 8; Johns, *Proc.*, 230 *ff.*; *Laws*, 339 *ff.*

[27] Cf. Johns, *Laws*, 341.

[28] K. 5464.

[29] Rm. 2, 3 = H. 380, also Harper, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, 1893, 34; G. R. Berry, *Hebraica*, 1895, 174 *ff.*; van Gelderen, *op. cit.*, 521 *f.*; cf. Thompson, 165, and Johns, *Laws*, 341. Letter of Ashur riçua.

[30] Cf. S. 96, perhaps a part of Rm. 978, Thompson, 165.

and his wish to do whatever the king orders him.[81] This success of the Assyrians must have been followed by a reverse, for soon after we find Urzana negotiating a treaty with Haldia and his example followed by Hubushkia.[82] Hardly, however, had the spring campaign of 707 begun when Argishtish was suddenly drawn to the north by a terrible danger which now began to threaten the civilized countries of Western Asia.[83] Another branch of that Iranian race which was already pressing so hard on the eastern frontier of Assyria had poured across the Caucasus, carrying everything before it. Coming out of their "Cimmerian darkness," these Gimirrai, so soon as the late spring of the highlands allowed, began their operations.[84] They struck the Haldian frontier obliquely and finally took up their position in Cappadocia, where many traces of their stay lasted on in the later nomenclature of the region.[85] Here they were able to attack, as they might desire, Phrygia or the rising power of Lydia on the one hand, or Assyria or Haldia on the other. The land of Haldia first felt the presence of these barbarians and Argishtish decided to attack them be-

[81] This letter of Uurzana, Rm. 2, 2 = H. 409 has been frequently published, V. R. 54; Harper, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, 1893, 345; Berry, *op. cit.*; Scheil, *Rec. Trav.*, 1897, 63; Thompson, 165, Johns, *Laws*, 343. Cf. also S. 1056 = H. 768 with its reference to the land of Nakiri (or a hostile land?) and its protestation of fidelity.

[82] K. 181 = H. 197, also V. R. 54; Pinches, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1884, 220 *ff.*; Johns, *Proc.*, 1895, 222 *ff.*; *Laws*, 339 *ff.*; Thompson, 166.

[83] K. 1120 = H. 596, cf. Thompson, 165. One of these places conquered is the city ABNU.IMERU of the Haldian inscriptions Belck and Lehmann, 130, 131.

[84] Cf. N. Schmidt, *art. Scythians, Ency. Biblica.*; Winckler, *Forsch.*, I. 484 *ff.*

[85] It is interesting to see (mat) Gamir of K. 181 appearing as Kamir in Moses. Chor., II. 80. For the Greek forms Kemer, Kamouria (Kamoulia), Kamouresarbon, see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, 304.

fore they actually crossed his borders.[36] At first he seems to have had some success. Guriania,[37] "a region between Haldia and Gamirra,"[38] was forced to pay tribute.[39] As the Haldian advance must have been up the Tokhma Su past Melitene and Tulgarimmu, this whole country must have already been lost to Assyria. It is therefore with no surprise that we see Sennacherib engaged once more in reconquering this region.

The advantage did not long remain to Argishtish. Soon after he entered the land of Gamir,[40] the battle with the Cimmerians took place. The result was a complete defeat. The king himself escaped and retreated to Uazamn, but his tartan, Qaqqadanu, was taken and most of his nobles slain. The defeat was a terrible one. The wars with Assyria had already weakened Haldia, and now this came. The country was permanently crippled and never again became a serious menace to Assyria.

The news spread far and wide, and soon reports from the various frontier officers began to come in to Sennacherib, who forwarded them to Sargon,[41] who was still delaying in

[36] K. 181, 29 seems to indicate that the battle took place outside of his proper territory.

[37] For site of Guriania-Gurun, see chap. IV, n. 40.

[38] So. Thompson, 166 n. 7. Johns, *Laws*, 342, still takes Nagiu as a proper name.

[39] K. 1080 = H. 146, cf. Thompson, 166; Johns, *Laws*, 342, by Ashur riçua.

[40] K. 181; Rm. 554, Thompson, 165.

[41] These forwarded reports are from the Ukkai, from Ashur riçua, and from Nabu liu, K. 181. Other references to the great defeat are in Rm. 554, Thompson, 165, from Urzana; in K. 1111 = H. 590, where a nameless official sends the report of the defeat given by Sania, *bel ali* of Qaqqadanu; and in K. 1080. K. 485 = H. 112 from Ardi Ishtar reports the defeat, mentions the booty, and says that Umar, Bulial, Surianai, cities of Urartu, feared greatly. These should be sought near the Euphrates boundary. K. 7434 = H. 199 from Senna-

Babylon. The news seems to have aroused him, for by the end of the year 707 he was once more back in Assyria.[42] The next year he himself took the field in Tabal, though now an old man.[43] For a time there seems to have been no decisive battle, the Cimmerians probably being weakened by their late contest, while Sargon would follow a more cautious policy. But in the year 705 he was forced to give battle to the Cimmerians, who seem now to have been led by Eshpai the Kulummite. The king fell in the ensuing conflict and his camp was taken.[44] Later his body was recovered and, after much opposition for some unknown cause by the priests,[45] his son buried it with all the necessary

cherio has only the address.—K. 622 = H. 306, cf. Delattre, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1901, 59 *f.*, is a rather sharp "word of the king" to Nabu dur uçur, ordering him to send at once to headquarters the Haldian prisoners who are at Arapha in the charge of the body guard Mannu ki Ashur.

[42] Rm. 2, 97, "the king returned from Babylon." So in D. 114 the king's stay seems to end in year III = 707.

[43] *Bab. Chron.*, II. 9. The *sharru mu iç(?)* must refer to the same expedition though it is placed, if we admit the relative position to mean anything, early in the year. What the king is doing I do not know, although I have puzzled over it many times.

[44] II. R. 69. Delitzsch, after a new collation, *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, I. 615 n., reads *ina muhhi Eshpai, etc.*, "against Eshpai." The next line begins with *sharru*, "king," not *amelu*. The following sign is GAZ which, cf. Brünnow, means *daku* or some other word for "destroy," etc. *Daku* means "to fight" as well as "to destroy." May the ideogram here have some such meaning as "hostile"? Madaktam seems to mean only "camp." We may then translate this line "A hostile king the camp of the king of Assyria [took]."

[45] K. 4730, published Winckler, *Sammlung*, II. 52 *f.*; translated *Forsch.*, I. 410 *ff.*, with the exception of rev. 19–26. Winckler would also make the well-known triumph song of Is. 14^{4-20a} refer to this. I do not see how a mere postponement of burial would agree with 18–20a, a complete lack of burial. Nor do I see why this would make the prophet exclaim "How hath the golden city ceased!" when the death of Sargon made so little difference in Assyria's power in Syria.

pomp.[46] On the twelfth of Ab (August) Sennacherib formally ascended the throne and a new reign began.[47]

[46] 81-2-4, 65 = H. 473, discussed Johns, *Deeds*, II. 148 may belong here. It reports the bringing of the news of the king's death to the palace. The city of Ashur wept, the governor abandoned his home life and sent away his wife, his *shaque* put on dark clothes and gold rings. Kisai and his daughters, the professional mourners, chanted funeral dirges before the officials. Then the corpse was escorted to the gate with weeping.

[47] II. R. 69.—My chronology for the chapter is of course conjectural but seems to work out well enough. Sargon died in 705 in the great battle. In 706, he was already in Tabal where that battle took place. But this was also the place where Argishtish was defeated by the Cimmerians. This took place while Sargon was still living and at Babylon. Sargon returned to Assyria in 707 and it is natural to assume that he found affairs too threatening on the northwest and the reason for this threatening condition must have been the defeat of the Haldians. If, then, Sargon returned late in 707, the Haldian defeat could have taken place in the summer of that year. At most, we can place it in 708. These are the limits on one side. On the other, we know that the trouble could not have broken out before 710–709, since these letters assume that Sargon is already in Babylon. The limits are therefore 710–709 and 708–707, at most three years. This does actually seem to be the amount of time demanded, if our reconstruction is true. The first reports of preparation would naturally be in the winter, while the advance to Turushpia would take place in the spring. In July he is still there and in fact he did not leave until April, of course, in the following year. This gives something over one year. If we assign the preparation to the winter of 710–709, the July to 709, and the April to 708, we are putting it as early as we can. In September, 708, the king is at Uesi. The attempt on Muçaçir, the falling back again to Uesi, the final winning of Muçaçir and Hubushkia, and the retreat back to within his own frontier may possibly have taken place all after September, 708. More probably, it was in the early spring of 707 that the latter of these events took place. The more severe winters further north would make the time for the Cimmerian breaking up of camp somewhat later. It would take time for the messengers to come, for the Haldians to retreat, and for a new advance to be made into Cappadocia. The battle would then take place, say, in the autumn of 707, the very latest possible time, for, at very latest, in the winter of 707 Sargon had heard of the defeat and was back

home. The data therefore exactly fill the space allowed and a better confirmation of our reconstruction could hardly be asked.—If this is all true,—and I do not see how the events of the letters can be placed later than 707,—we face a startling question. If the group of documents of which the Annals and the Display Inscription are the most important, was made in 707, cf. chap. I, why are these events not referred to? Only in the Qummuh troubles de we have an allusion that can be connected with the letters. Was a general lack of success on this frontier the cause of the letter material not being worked up?

CHAPTER IX

THE CULTURE LIFE

In a historical study, even as brief and as confined in its limits as this, some attention must be paid to the culture history. Always more difficult to investigate than political history, it is especially so when an attempt must be made to indicate what were the lines of development in so short a time. If we were to take the reign of Sargon as typical of Assyria and were to present a fairly complete picture of the general civilization of the age, it might be allowable to draw from the more abundant data relating to the later Sargonid days. As the present production is a study rather than a complete presentation, this chapter will contain merely certain observations on the civilization of the reign of Sargon.

In the preceding chapters almost exclusive attention has been given to the military history. To a large extent this has been forced by the nature of our sources, which are largely war annals. But we are not called upon especially to regret this. To a nation so essentially warlike, the military history is the most important as well as the most typical. The real Assyrian race was only a conquering caste settled among a conquered population and constantly forced to extend its territories, since no real frontier could be found. Under these conditions, racial solidarity was demanded, as well as constant preparation for war, and to secure this, as at Sparta, all else was subordinated to the military life. The whole essence of life was military and can be understood only in this light. Even business and religion took on mili-

tary forms. The great mission of Assyria in the pre-classical period, as of Rome in the classical, was the dissemination by arms of the culture of an earlier civilization. With less adequate a basis in the native population and with smaller powers of organization and assimilation, it had less success, yet the period when the older civilizations were amalgamated to so large an extent in its empire must be considered one of the germinative periods of human history. Nor must we forget that it is to these very war annals that we owe much of our knowledge of customs, of the history, perhaps even the existence of important Asiatic peoples.[1]

In a people thus settled as a conquering caste among a non-Semitic race,[2] all depended naturally upon the army. In the earlier days this had consisted of only the feudal levy, "the people in arms," and survivals existed on into the reign of Sargon.[3] But by this time the energy which had once enabled them to send off colonies to settle conquered districts was gone. The attempted conquest of the world had proved too much for Assyrian resources, and at this period Assyria was just recovering from one of her seasons of exhaustion. No doubt Sargon was doing the only thing he could when he changed,—if, indeed, to him belongs the credit. —from the old feudal levy to a standing army. We must

[1] The earlier students of Assyriology were largely content with a mere statement of known facts. The views enunciated in this chapter in general find their origin, if not their present form, in various studies put forth by Winckler in his *Forschungen* and in other works. Many sketches of isolated portions of the subject are well given by Maspero in his *Empires*. The mass of material presented by Johns in his *Deeds* is of the greatest value, as are discussions on various social questions which deserve more attention from the non-oriental scholar than they are likely to secure, immured as they are in material understandable only by an Assyriologist.

[2] Cf., *e. g.*, Johns, *Deeds*.

[3] Cf. Johns, *Deeds*, II. 49 *ff.*, for the phrase *adki ummanatia*, "I called out my troops."

not measure the wisdom of this departure by the success of standing armies in modern times, for centralization then coincided with the growth of national sentiment and of a healthy social condition. Here there was no free peasant or commercial class to fall back upon, and, with the decay of the old feudal nobility and their followers, the standing army could be recruited only from captives, from slaves, or from mercenaries. Of the first method we have sufficient proof. As has been noted in other chapters, the usual proceeding after the conquest of a place was to enroll the captured soldiers into the royal army. Furthermore, there are references in the letters to soldiers of various nationalities, who, however, are combined, so far as possible, to break up racial feeling and to substitute corps spirit.[4] In some cases, as at Carchemish, there were probably mercenaries who were taken over, at any rate, there seem to have been foreign mercenaries enlisted.[5] From the business documents we know that slaves were subject to requisition by the military as by the civil authorities.[6] For a time, at least, the new arrangement succeeded in spite of the poorer material. The new army could be better organized and better directed than the old. The unit seems to have been the fifty, that is, of fifty groups, each consisting of a spearman and bowman,

[4] Note the letter K. 4286 of the time of Sennacherib with its data as to the composition of the Assyrian army and the discussion in Johns, *Deeds*, II. 170 *ff.*—For the "camp of Sargon," cf. Botta, *Ninive*, pl. 146 and Place, pl. 40.

[5] Note that the Itu'ai, at first a tribe, later became a sort of military caste. Compare also K. 341 = J. 364 of 679 where we have a *rab kiçir* official over the Gimirai.

[6] In the business documents, the seller of a slave or serf quite regularly guarantees the buyer against loss caused by requisition for service, not only from the civil but from the military officials, cf. Johns, *Deeds*, II. 49.

[7] D. 114.

and to this a few chariots and cavalry were attached, the whole being under a captain of fifty. These groups again were under a higher officer, generally the governor of the region they were operating in. In addition, there seems to have been a royal body guard, its members generally Assyrians, composed of chariots, foot and cavalry. Individual members seem to have held important commissions and even commanded other troops in war. A good intelligence department existed and intelligence officers, scouts, and spies are mentioned in the letters. Siege engines were much used, as the reliefs show. The leaders understood something of tactics, and those who follow up their expeditions on the map cannot deny a certain knowledge of strategy. There seem to have been general plans for the campaigns, which were often carried on along an extended frontier, where coöperation of the operating bodies was needed.[8]

At the head of the government was the king. In theory, his will seems to have been absolute, though tempered in practice by a goodly number of revolts. There is no proof that there was any council regularly constituted to advise him, but there are indications that the nobles had much influence and were not afraid to speak their mind on occasion. Around the king was a large circle of high officials at the head of whom was the tartan, corresponding to the wazir of modern Turkey. For the earlier part of the reign this was Ashur iṣka danin,[9] a man probably as old as Sargon himself, since he was eponym in 720. He was assisted by a

[8] Johns, *Deeds,* II. 91 *ff.* The scattered information in the letters regarding the army is of the greatest value but is uncollected. The royal inscriptions tell us of campaigns but give little in regard to real military questions. The best discussion of the army as a whole is in Billerbeck and Jeremias' study of the fall of Nineveh, *Beitr. z. Assyr.,* III.

[9] So K. 998, quoted Johns, *Deeds,* II. 69. He was *eponym* in 720.

second and perhaps a third tartan. How important his personality was we cannot tell, for in his earlier period Sargon would have been active enough to carry on his own affairs, while from 710 at least Sennacherib was in charge of Assyria proper, and was in direct control of the operations against Haldia.[10] Another official whose influence must have been great was Tab çil esharra, who occupied the post of governor of Ashur, the mother city of Assyria and the especial favorite of Sargon for the greater part of his reign.[11] Still another was Ashur bani, governor of Kalhu, where the king for a good portion of his time held his court.[12]

The cities of Assyria, then, had their governors, but seem to have had, at least so far as the citizens were concerned, a position superior to that of the ordinary provincials. The same was true of the culture nations of Mesopotamia and Babylon, which, however often they revolted, were never made actual provinces, but were rather united in a sort of personal union where the only bond, at least in theory, was the fact that they had a common ruler. Although this theory did not represent the true state of affairs, yet it had a considerable influence on it. Mesopotamia was gradually becoming more and more a part of Assyria, and it would appear that Shalmaneser had attempted to make the transformation complete by taking away the ancient rights of Harran, the capital, perhaps by taking away all rights to a separate government. Sargon came to the throne as a result of a reaction, and his first care was to restore the lost rights to Harran, and he regularly employed throughout his

[10] Cf. last chapter.

[11] Tab çil esharra, as governor of Ashur, was eponym in 716. He is still there in K. 507, probably of 709 or 710.

[12] Ashur bani was eponym 713. He was still governor of Kalhu the next year, K. 351 = J. 676.

reign the title "King of the World," which was the ancient title of the kings of Mesopotamia.

But, while Mesopotamia was thus being Assyrianized, it was different in Babylonia which, even yet, was so frequently its own ruler that it had not forgotten what freedom meant. The whole country had forgotten largely its old rivalries and now rallied around Babylon. It could never forget that it was older and more civilized than Assyria, and this natural prejudice Sargon, as a believer in the good old times, and perhaps also as an astute statesman, respected. He "seized the hands of Bel" with due ceremony and thus became their own personal ruler. Unlike the other Assyrian kings who ruled Babylon thus, there was no need of a change of name, for what name more suggestively Babylonian, smacking of the olden time, could be found than Sargon? Such stress, indeed, was laid in Babylonia on the fact of his being the "second" Sargon that his name as a king of that country only came down to Greek times as Arkeanos, "the Second." Thus, so long as Sargon ruled Assyria, Babylonia was safe, for he had the support of the priestly faction, and that was dominant. But when Sennacherib, himself devoted rather to the military party in Assyria, came to the throne the priestly party in Babylonia had no choice but to take the less of two evils and, with their own military party, once more invoke the aid of Merodach Baladan.[18]

[18] Winckler in his various publications, has worked out the actual facts behind the various royal titles. The best bibliography is to be found in Muss-Arnolt's *Lexicon* under the various titles. While I do not see how the correctness of his general conclusions can be denied, it seems to me that he has not always seen that, while absence of a local title presumably implies that the locality in question was not in that king's possession, the presence of it merely indicates that such control was claimed, with or without adequate basis, as the case might be.

Outside the culture states thus protected by the Assyrians were the barbarians. Some of them had long ago been conquered and had been incorporated into the provincial system. Others were under control of "allied kings," who for a time were supported by the Assyrians until at length the usual family troubles marking a new accession should force intervention and annexation. In the preceding pages we have seen something of the manner this provincial system worked. We have noted the way each governor in turn gave his name to the year and have seen that he was often the conductor of a war or able to show in other ways his independence on the frontier. The number of these governors was nearly sixty, a sufficient proof of the smallness of their province. In this, no doubt, we see a wise attempt to limit the amount of danger likely to result from revolt, a policy in considerable contrast to that of the Persians. Nor was this the only check. The constant letters showed a highly centralized government. With a royal post and trained couriers the results would probably not be far different from that centralization which the telegraph gives the Turkish Sultan, for, like him, the Assyrian king in his letters deals with the minutest details. Rarely do we have the letters sent by the king, but how frequent these must have been we see from the constant phrase, "As to what you sent about." But the more distant governors, such as those of Que or Samaria, must have had far more opportunity to show independent ability or to plan revolt. To the Assyrian monarch as to the Sultan today, the main function of a government was the levying of taxes, and the provinces must have groaned under the burden. To what extent the home land was freed we do not know. It would appear that about this time a definite budget was first made out, for from this period we have lists of tribute due from

the various provinces as well as an account of the various objects for which the sums were to be appropriated.[14] While the general lines of provincial administration are now fairly known, a thorough study of the system is still needed.[15]

[14] See the tribute lists published by Sayce, *Records of the Past,*[1] XI. 144. Arpad is assessed at 30 talents, Carchemish at 100, Que at 30, Megiddo at 15, and Mannuçuate at the same. The amount paid by Çimirra, Hatarakka, Çubud, Samalla, is lost.

[15] The best sketch of the provincial system is to be found in Maspero, *Empires,* 193 *ff.* What is needed is a study of the system as a whole in connection with a history of the provinces somewhat along the line of Mommsen's *Provinces of the Roman Empire.* In an elaborate work such as that of Maspero, so much detail in regard to frontiers is given that the main lines of Assyrian development are obscured, while much of the effect of this detail is lost by not being brought into connection with other pieces of detail belonging to the same region. The studies of Billerbeck and Streck, for example, have shown how valuable for topography is such a course, while the preceding chapters may be taken as an example of what can be done in this way even for a single reign. It is necessary for our proper understanding of the system that we know how far it was based on those of the Babylonians or even Egyptians, while even more important is the question as to how far it influenced that of the Persian Empire and the other neighboring governments. Through Persia, the Assyrian system influenced Rome and thus the mediaeval and modern world, for Persia to the Greek political writers represented the imperial idea, Persia set the fashion for the Hellenistic world powers, while Rome, already an unconscious debtor to the first Persian empire, consciously imitated the second in the movement which changed the one supreme "general" of the time of Augustus to the more than half oriental "despot" of that of Diocletian. While we know the location of most of these centers of government, we do not know their boundaries or extent nor have we any definite idea of the exact functions of the governors. Was provincial control divided as in Persian times? A list of the governors,—based naturally on that of Johns, *Deeds,* II. —, should be made and then all the data in places where they are mentioned tested to see if it can be utilized for the history of the provinces. The history of these in general end with the wars needed to conquer them and their organization. In many cases already we know much of their later history from hints here and there in letters and documents. I intended to list those occurring in the reign of Sargon but hold my notes until they are more

From the earliest times Babylonia had law codes and an elaborate legal machinery, caused by its great trading interests as well as by a primitive factory system operated by slave labor. Assyria was less of a trading nation, although there must have been some traders, and commercial motives can be traced at times in the campaigns of the reign. As a rule, the main commercial interest of such an expedition must have been the booty, and such an attitude must have had as evil an effect on the development of the real resources of the country as the influx of the easily won American gold had on Spain. The preceding period of break-up seems to have left Assyrian industry in a bad way, and we hear of decaying villages and of agricultural apparatus out of commission, even the canals, so absolutely essential for the welfare of the country, being no longer fit to be used. All this, so Sargon boasts, he changed. The villages he rebuilt, the canals he opened, the waters he stored, were a real blessing to the country, as was the bringing of new sections under cultivation. But he clearly did not understand the real issues. The decline of an agricultural population was no doubt due to the same causes which operated in the later Roman republic. With this came finally a rise in prices, aided, no doubt, by the large amount of precious metals

complete. An important question which has long troubled me is to just what extent there was a real difference between the government of Assyria, of the personally united countries, and of the outer ring of provinces. I fear the real difference has been exaggerated, though I have followed the current view fully in the text. Sargon restored the right of direct government by the crown to the city of Ashur, and there was change enough to cause the governor of that city to complain, yet it certainly had a governor who was eponym in 716 (see above). Babylon certainly was highly favored yet in 709 or a little later. While Sargon was still in Babylon, we find its governor mentioned, D. 140. Perhaps then after all, see chap. II. n. 27, we have no right to assume that the governor we find in Harran in 685 was a recent infliction, a result of an anti-hierarchical party.

brought in by the successful wars. Sargon naturally felt this to be due to conspiracy on the part of the Aramaean traders in whose hands was now the greater part of the trade of the empire. One of his proudest boasts is the way he made a tariff so that the necessities of life might be accessible to all, wine for the sick, incense for the joy of the heart, oil for wounds, while sesame was the same price as grain.[16]

The immense number of business documents from Babylonia have given a very vivid picture of the social life there. Unfortunately, we are practically without examples of ordinary Assyrian trading documents, although this is made partially good by the large number of such documents coming from the court itself. Preceding pages have shown how these occasionally throw a gleam of light on the history and especially on the great personages who played a part at court. Here, again, the number actually coming from this reign is small, a considerable contrast to the letters. So far as we can see, we have the same conditions as in later reigns. The references to the eponyms or to other governors are often of value, while the lists of witnesses ranging from high officials to slaves give an insight into the composition of the social system.[17]

[16] C. 34 *ff.*

[17] All previous editions of the Assyrian business documents have been superseded by that of Johns, *Deeds and Documents.* Thanks to his abandonment of the chronological system and the study of each group by itself, many puzzles are being solved. Thus far he has worked up only about a third of his published material. In general, I have been forced to confine myself to this. I have prepared for myself a list of persons occurring in Sargon's reign but do not think it worth publishing here. The documents dated in Sargon's reign may be seen from the list published as an appendix to Johns, *Deeds,* vol. I, where all the data bearing on the eponym list are collected. The Louvre has a certain number of Sargon documents. Extracts from

Around the king was a regular official hierarchy with a definite arrangement of precedence. Thanks to the above-mentioned documents, we are now beginning to understand something of their work and of their rank, but much still is dark. Below them were the freemen, who held land by the bow, the feudal obligation to fight the wars of their lord. Probably there was a free proletariat as well, though there seems no proof. By this time the number of free Assyrians must have grown much smaller. To the free population must also be added the foreign trader. The mass of the population was unfree, slaves or serfs. On all the lands of Assyria were these serfs, bound to the soil and passing to a new owner with it. In theory, the position of the serf might seem an advance on that of the slave. In practice, the serfs on the great estates which the king had granted by royal charter to his favorite nobles, and who by the labor of their hands made the garden of the world of the Babylonian swamps and the Mesopotamian steppes, were probably inferior socially as well as mentally to the city slaves who were engaged in industry, often indeed under what might almost be called factory conditions, or even in independent trade, paying a sort of annual tax to the nominal owner. We even find one slave owning another. In general, slavery was mild. If the political conditions are much like those obtaining near the end of the Roman empire, there is an equally close similarity in the underlying social causes. The original nobility, even the original free people, was dying out, foreigners held the trade and even important government posts. The slaves were improving their condition, at least in the cities, but the serfs, the representatives partly of an old free agricultural population, perhaps more, in both cases, of the

a few are to be found in Strassmaier's *Verzeichniss*. There is not enough distinctly Sargonid material to warrant an attempt at a picture.

gradually rising body of slaves on the great estates, to which the fewer and fewer free men were dragged down by the competition of slave labor. There is certainly a sufficient amount of coincidence here to make the study of both agreements and differences as well as of the underlying causes, extremely interesting.[18]

Whatever their attitude towards other lines of work, the Assyrians never allowed any but themselves or their Babylonian teachers to hold religious offices. With their usual ability as copyists, they took over the whole Babylonian system with its pantheon of gods, old and young, its demons, its ritual and its exorcisms in the obsolete Shumerian tongue. Yet, however carefully the Assyrians copied Babylonian models, Assyrian religion was something as different as was the altered political horizon to which the old star omens were fitted. Other gods might have their cults, but the real, the national god of Assyria, whose worship sometimes almost reaches monotheism, was Ashur, "the father of the gods," the embodied nation. Sargon was brought to the throne by the aid of the priesthood and ever honored it. But his honor was especially given to Ashur, and this made him a good patriot and an ardent soldier, for it was "in the might of Ashur" that an Assyrian king went forth to battle and each newly organized province was at once given its images of the king and of Ashur, a curious anticipation of the provincial worship of "Rome and Augustus." We can better understand his partiality for Ashur, if that god was his patron saint from whom he was named, for it has been suggested with some plausibility that his name, which is incomplete as it stands, was originally Ashur shar ukin.[19]

[18] This sketch is based on the data brought together in Johns, *Deeds.*

[19] Peiser, *Mitth. Vorderasiat. Gesell.*, 1900, 2, 50, on basis of numerical play, C. 65.

As he was especially interested in Harran, he naturally cared for its patron, Sin, the moon god. A trace of this is surely to be found in the fact that Sin is invoked in the name of his son Sennacherib. As suzerain of Babylon, he naturally would also pay great attention, as already seen, to Bel Marduk, of Babylon, and Nabu, of Borsippa, as well as to their consorts Zarpanit and Tashmit. These were the great gods of the nation, but others were highly honored. The new Dur Sharrukin was to hold, in addition to those already mentioned, shrines of Ea, the old water god, Shamash, the sun god of Sippar, Adad, the thunderer, and Ninib of Kalhu, as well as their consorts.[20] Ishtar, in Assyria rather the goddess of war than of love, was rather neglected by Sargon, though one of the gates of the new city is named after her and we hear of offerings to her.[21] We also have a hymn to Nana which is attributed to this ruler.[22] Anu and Dagan have a very prominent part in the invocations opening the inscriptions, though just why Sargon was the "man" of these gods and not of Sin when he freed Harran I cannot understand.[23] Other gods referred to are Damqu and Shar ilani, the brother gods of the town where Dur Sharrukin was built, and Shaushepi, a Mitanian goddess settled at Nineveh.[24] This religious character, as already noted, was very pleasing to the priestly party, and Sargon's reputation was made accordingly. The strongly anti-hierarchical reign of his son Sennacherib made a sharp and favorable contrast, so that, when once more the religious section gained control

[20] D. 155.

[21] 82-5-22, 90 (Catalogue).

[22] K. 3600, Craig, *Relig. Texts*, I. 54-55.

[23] Cf. chap. II. n. 27.

[24] C. 53 *ff.*—Shaushepi is thus read and equated with the Shaushbi of the Mitanian Amarna letter by Hommel, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1894, 212.—K. 434 = J. 336 refers to Sin of Dur Sharrukin.

under Esarhaddon, we are not surprised to find the statement made in a letter to the king that there has been no justice in the land since the days of Sargon.[25]

In religion there was a certain tendency to following the older paths, and this naturally showed itself in literature, or at least in that branch of it which fell under priestly control. It has been assumed that, because nearly all our literary documents were found in the palace of Ashur bani pal, the copying of all is therefore due to him. I do not see how a certain element of truth can well be refused to this, for a large number bear his name in the colophon. But the fact that so large a number of the letters and business documents found there came from the same place, and yet date earlier, should give us pause, and this is confirmed by what few clues we are able to discover. Sargon evidently had a library, for we find an inscription with his "library mark,"[26] and perhaps if we had before us the texts cited in the Catalogue as belonging to Sargon's time we should find others. To one scholar or patron of scholars, Nabu zuqup kini, son of Marduk shum iqisha, whose very names, compounded with the gods interested in all this work, show their position, we owe much, for already some fifteen tablets can be definitely ascribed to him, while others of the same sort from this reign may with probability be attributed to the same person. The most important of the old works he caused to be copied was the "Illumination of Bel," whose connection

[25] K. 122 = H. 43 = Van Gelderen IV = Johns, *Laws*, 377. The letter is from Akullanu.—K. 304 = J. 1077, cf. Johns, *Deeds*, II. 107, lists temple offerings confirmed by Sargon but taken away under Sennacherib by Ludari the rab MU biti of Parakka and Simirra, I. 18 *ff.*, VIII. 17.

[26] This is K. 4818 which Winckler has published as part of Prism B. I was unable to utilize it for my reconstruction of that document and so was led to doubt its belonging there. The subject matter is different and, so far as I can tell from Winckler's copy, the general mechanical make up also.

with the elder Sargon we have already noted.[27] Two recensions of this are known, one copied in Sargon's time, the other in the days of Ashur bani pal. Of the former, seven tablets have thus far been identified,[28] dating from 716 to 705. Isolated tablets from other series are known to have been copied for him, astrological forecasts,[29] observations on the moon,[30] star observations,[31] prayers,[32] tablets containing directions for the cult.[33] A number of other tablets can be placed in this reign.[34]

We have already seen the political reasons which led the scribes of Sargon to write down the floating legends about the elder Sargon.[35] The omen list is as dry as such works are; the story of his birth and early life is probably the finest piece of literature written in cuneiform, simple folk tale though it is.

The most characteristic literature of the Babylonians was religious. The war annals gave way to the hymn to the god. In Assyria the greatest importance was given to the display of the king's might in war, but nothing has as yet been found comparing at all with the wide interests, local and chronological, of the Babylonian Chronicle. In general,

[27] Chap. II. n. *27*.

[28] These are Tablet 6, K. 5281; Tablet 36, K. 10084 = Craig 31; Tablet 41, 91-5-9, 97 = Craig 35; S. 930 = Craig 48; S. 854 = Craig 48; S. 1070; K. 5277, of unknown tablets. The dates are not in order, for tablet 6 was made in 706, tablet 36 in 705, tablet 41 in 716. The last seems to belong to a still earlier set of copies. Tablet 36 and S. 854, 930, 1070 were written for or by Nabu zuqup kani.

[29] S. 985; 81-2-4, *327*; K. 10967.

[30] K. 11309; 11614.

[31] K. 137.

[32] K. 9452; Rm. *222*.

[33] K. 9487; 13839; cf. also Rm. 155.

[34] K. 3092; 11618; S. 2045; *2102*; D. T. 318; Rm. 399; Rm. *2*, 101; 345; 80-7-19, *277*; 83-1-18, 429.

[35] See chap. II. n. 18.

we find these glorifications of the king, whether confined to mere lists of titles and unmeaning phrases, or supported by the great deeds he claims to have done, a little dull reading. And yet it is not all dull, for now and then our attention is drawn from the bare data to some picturesque expression which shows us we have still to do with the race which produced the book of Job and the Arabian Nights. In the outlook on life we have an almost Homeric attitude, that of a race civilized, but not yet sophisticated. Frequently the similes are taken from nature. Sargon roars like a lion, his troops rush to the attack like eagles, his enemies fly away like birds, the devastation of the land is like that caused by locusts. Islands lie like fish in the sea. Again there are similes from the simple life round about. There are often references to the yoke laid upon the enemy or of friends who loved his yoke. Sibu fled away like an unfaithful shepherd abandoning his flocks. The destruction is so complete that the remains will be only as the pottery crushed to powder to make mortar. The Cypriotes are dragged like fish from the waters. Picturesque phrases are used. Rusash was a helper who could not help. Iranzu went the "way of death," while as for Dalta, "his fate came upon him." Merodach Baladan was an evil spirit. Very picturesque are the accounts of the suicide of Rusash and the despair of Merodach Baladan, the most picturesque, perhaps, because the scribe was not fettered in the flights of his imagination by facts. The frequent formulæ, such as "I pulled down, I tore up, with fire I burned," also give a sort of Homeric touch. Yet perhaps the most impressive thing about these war annals is the straightforward way in which events are described, the mode of narration of a people which feels that it is doing great deeds and needs no literary adornment to enhance them.

Of all the arts, architecture is most closely connected with history and the Assyrians were a building nation. Partly this was caused by emulation of Babylonia, where ages of construction had left a vast heritage of noble edifices, partly by the wish of the rulers to utilize their booty in erecting memorials to their greatness, partly to the unsubstantial character of these memorials, which were constantly falling into disrepair and so made a new erection almost as easy as the preparation of one for renewed occupation. Sargon was a true Assyrian in this respect. In the provinces he built extensively from the frontier fort to the palace at Carchemish. Hardly a city was captured but what was rebuilt, and a mere catalogue of these alone would give an impressive idea of his building operations.

It would appear that, at the beginning of his reign, Sargon resided at the city of Ashur he so favored,[86] and later we know that the palace there was repaired by Tab çil esharra the governor of that city.[87] During the greater part of the reign the royal headquarters were at Kalhu, further north, where a number of the Assyrian kings, beginning with Shalmaneser I, had resided. An old palace of Ashur naçir pal which had fallen into decay was restored and adorned with the booty of Carchemish.[88] As late as 707, when Sargon was in Babylon, Sennacherib, as regent of Assyria, still resided in Kalhu.[89] Nineveh was not the favored city it became under his successors, but we find him repairing there a temple to Nabu and Marduk originally erected by Adad

[86] A. 20, *e. g.*, says that Hanunu was brought to "my city of Ashur." Note also that Kalhu seems not to have been rebuilt until later.

[87] K. 620 = H. 91 = van Gelderen XIV.

[88] The Nimrud inscription deals largely with this, see on chap. I.

[89] See last chapter.

nirari, and residence for a time here seems to be indicated.[40] at Tarbiç, the modern Sherif Khan, a palace was erected, later repaired by Esarhaddon.[41] At Karamles, to the east of Nineveh, an important part of the Assyrian triangle, Sargon followed the example of Shalmaneser in building.[42] The Assyrian Chronicle gives the restoration of two temples, one in 722–721, the other in 719–714. The latter was a Nergal temple, and seems to have been the great one at Kutha, which probably was at this time in Sargon's possession.[43] An interesting letter is one from Ishtar Duri forwarding the complaint of Shamash bel uçur, eponym in 711, who is at Der, and has no inscriptions to put on the temple at that place.[44] Again, we learn that the palace of the queen at Kakzi was in ruins. The king was asked if it should be repaired.[45] Evidently Sargon was unable to execute the work, for it was not done until 704, a year after his death.[46]

Thus Sargon was much engaged in building. But the production of such comparatively minor works did not satisfy him. The elder Sargon had had his city of Dur Sharrukin named after him and he would do likewise.[47]

[40] See the Nineveh bricks, Winckler, *Sargon*, I. 195. The deed of gift of 714 is dated at Nineveh, and the Prisms seems to have come from the same place.

[41] Esarhaddon in I. R. 48, 5, 6, 8, claims this for himself.

[42] Place, *Ninive*, II. 169.

[43] Rm. 2, 97, cf. chap. I. n. 45.

[44] K. 504 = H. 157 = Johnston, in Harper, *Literature*, 253 *f.*

[45] S. 1034 = H. 389; G. Smith, *Assys. Disc.*, 414; S. A. Smith, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, IX. 245; Delitzsch, *Beitr. z. Assys.*, I. 613 *ff.*

[46] II. R. 69.

[47] Each of the inscriptions of the group written about 707 ends with a somewhat similar account of the Dur Sharrukin operations, and the shorter are largely devoted to it. The fullest is in the Cylinder which, however, has a clear literary dependence on the deed of gift, see below, dating from 713. The description of the city, as it is to-day, is largely based on the discussion of Place in his *Ninive*. His excavations of

Looking around, he found an appropriate locality at Magganuba, a half-ruined town to the northeast of Nineveh,[48] at the foot of the barren Musri hills. The soil around was largely clay, providing a good and cheap building material. The ground was fertile,—at present two crops of cereals are raised each year and a large part exported to Baghdad. Trees grew there then and from the sculptures we learn of palms, olives, figs, and oranges in this region. The waters are medicinal, being strongly charged with sulphur, and this may have had something to do with the old king's choice of a site.[49]

We are fortunate in having several copies of the act of expropriation and of compensation which was given at Nineveh, thus, for a time at least, the seat of the court, in Simanu, 711. The land required for the new city was not taken without compensation. Those who wished it were paid in cash the price their estates had cost them, as proved by the tablets relating to the purchase. Those who preferred lands were given them in other parts of the country. To the latter type belong our documents. Adad nirari had granted one of these fields to three men, Ianuni, Ahu lamur, and Mannuki Abi. They were to hold it on very easy terms, merely a payment of ten homers of barley to Ashur and Bau. Now Mannuki Abi, who was still alive, and the children of the others were granted in exchange ninety-five homers of land in a priestly city near Nineveh for the same

this city was the most thorough thus far undertaken. Perrot and Chipiez in their *History of Art* have elucidated some points and a good sketch may be seen in Maspero, *Empires*, 260 *ff*. For the earlier Dur Sharrukin, see chap. II. n. 11.

[48] In the 707 group, the name Magganuba occurs only in C. 44. It also occurs in the deed of gift. The name Maganubba is still used in 694, K. 346 = Johns 427.

[49] Place, *Ninive*, 13 *f*.

consideration, and this was to hold for their descendants.[50]

The city which, with the palace, was probably the work of Ṭab shar Ashur, the chief architect,[51] was laid out in the form of a rough rectangle, nearly two thousand yards long on each side, and was approximately oriented with its corners to the cardinal points, a proceeding no doubt due to a wish not to receive too directly the blazing summer sun.[52] The city was led up to by a roughly paved road forty feet wide, a very respectable width for the east, and was continued beyond the gate with the same dimensions. On one side of the road was a half circle and a stele, evidently a milestone.[53] Around the whole rectangle was a high wall with its base of rubble work between two stone facings, while the upper portion of doubtful height was merely of unbaked bricks.[54] Owing to the poor building material, these walls were enormously thick, over eighty feet.[55] Along the walls were over one hundred and fifty towers, while they were pierced by eight gates, named, as Sargon tells us, after eight great Assyrian deities.[56] Three were used for vehicles. Huge winged bulls with human heads guarded the entrances, above the arch were enameled bricks, while more within were the slabs carved with the figures bearing pine cone

[50] Of this document, four copies, K. 1989; 4467; 83-1-18, 425; 91-5-9, 193, published Winckler, *Sammlung*, II. 5; Johns 660, 714, 809. A translation and discussion, Meissner, *Mitth. Vorderasiat. Gesell.*, 1903, 3. Another document of this sort is Sargon 12, 45 of the Louvre, collected as J. 1155 by Johns from the extracts in Strassmaier, *Verzeichniss*. It is a sale of the land of the king's scribe and probably is to be taken in connection with the building operations, as the land is at or near Dur Sharrukin, Johns, *Deeds*, II. xiv.

[51] Eponym, 717.

[52] Place, 18.

[53] Place, 196.

[54] Place, 160 *ff.*

[55] Place, 162.

[56] C. 66 *ff.*

and basket. Under each gate, on a bed of sand, was hidden away a large number of cheap trinkets, amulets and the like, while above the roof was vaulted with crude bricks, a piece of work calling for no small skill. Here the peasants would pour in with their produce or sell it in the cool halls, the vender of cooling drinks or of sweetmeats would be there, inquisitive citizens would congregate here to learn the latest news from the front or the latest court gossip. Here, too, were soldiers, and here the judge sat, ready to expose a captive to the jeers of the mob, caged with the wild beasts, or to consign him to a lightless prison hole sunk in the midst of the wall. In some gates, steps in the middle prevented the passage of horses or vehicles. The unfinished state of the city is clearly shown at one gate where there are no bulls, and the inscription is merely painted.[57]

Little has been preserved of the city itself. Its long straight streets crossing at right angles must have seemed very strange to those accustomed to the narrow tortuous lanes common to the older cities. They were paved but had no sidewalks. In general, the effect must have been very monotonous, with the long straight staring brick walls with hardly a break for window or door. Once inside, there must have been more life in the courts, perhaps even gardens, but the whole probably had a decided "made to order at short notice" appearance. There must have been bazaars, temples, and other such buildings, but we have few traces.[58]

The one reason for the existence of the city and the one survival of importance was the palace. This was erected on a platform situated on the line of the west wall and extended partially outside. This platform was no doubt erected primarily in imitation of Babylonian models, but had a more

[57] Place, 170 *ff.*

[58] Place, 201 *ff.*

practical justification. It not only formed the part of the city most difficult for an enemy to conquer, it was also a refuge from a revolt which might be feared from the heterogeneous collection of captives who were settled here, if the little body of native Assyrians in the city could not control them.[59] The huge mass was not a mere lump of earth, but was erected of carefully prepared crude bricks with a well-executed drainage system. The pressure of this enormous body was resisted by a retaining wall of huge well-dressed stones, some of which weighed over twenty tons, laid with mathematical regularity. Around the top ran a parapet.[60] How the platform was ascended we do not know, but probably there was access on at least the city side where ramp and perhaps steps were used.[61]

On this platform was a series of buildings, enough to hold the population of a small town, with its fourteen courts and eighty-seven rooms.[62] It was divided into four sections, devoted to servants, to officials, to priests, and to the women, and each of these, with its main court, was subdivided into

[59] C. *72 ff.*

[60] Place, *24 ff.*

[61] There is no reason but general probability for the system of access shown by Thomas in his restoration, Place, pl. 18. As the great court would have held the chariots, and the stables were nearby, I think it more probable that the chariot ramp was on the southeast, not the northeast side. A decided objection to the placing, with Thomas, of the ramp on the northeast side is that it violates a principle of ancient defensive warfare, the placing of a ramp so that the right side, unprotected by a shield, should be exposed to attack from the walls. I am inclined to believe that the only city entrance was at the southeast and was a ramp. But are we forced to deny an outside entrance? Thomas' restoration does not give an adequate approach to the royal appartments. Such a one would be given by a ramp, or perhaps here better steps, in front of the royal courtyards. As a ramp would naturally go up towards the city wall, the rule mentioned above would be followed.

[62] Place, 45.

various groups, each again around its central court. There were two main entrances, each seeming to correspond to an ascent. One was on the side facing the city and was on the style of the city gates, but more elaborate. The center gateway, flanked by its great bulls and adorned with tiling, was reserved for the monarch, while side doors admitted the servants. This led into a large court, the main court of the palace attendants. Around it were store rooms, each with a little cell for its keeper. In them were jars, iron implements, and other supplies, while perhaps some held the treasure. Foodstuffs and drinkables were kept in other rooms in jars whose pointed ends were placed in supports. A sudden shower showed to astonished workmen wine in some of these jars more than twenty-five centuries old. Nearby were the kitchens where cooking was carried on under nearly the same conditions as today. Jars were turned on one side and arranged in rows. In these was put the fire, while the bread was plastered upon the outside and thus baked. Nearby were the stables and the open courts where the horses were hobbled to rings in the stone pavement. The procuring of these horses for the royal stables was an important matter, and many are the letters relating to it. Two main sources of supply existed. One was Media, whence later the famous Nissaean horses came, the other was Asia Minor, where, on the Cappadocian plains, a small but sturdy breed was raised. Worthy of special boast were the "great horses from Egypt." At this time it would appear the keeper of the royal stables was Nergal etir.[68]

[68] Place, 79 *ff.* A considerable number of letters dealing with the horse trade have been published. The main gain is in topography. The letters of Nergal etir are not in the same form as the later ones. K. 560 = H. 227 is the one referring to Delta; K. 526 = H. 226 = Delitsch, *Beitr. z. Assys.*, I. 202, reports the bringing in of horses by a member of the body guard; little remains of K. 1228 = H. 229 and K.

The servants' section was almost competely shut off from the official quarters. The entrance to the latter was, if our conjecture be right, probably from outside the city wall. Entering probably through a still more magnificent gateway, now entirely lost, one came into a court smaller than that of the servants and adorned in the same style but more richly. Around this were the rooms of the officials, each with its broad frieze of sculpture, while the king and his personal attendants lived in simple, unadorned apartments near the center of the platform and retired as much as possible.[64] Here dwelt and worked the officials whom the letters and documents have made known to us.

Skirting along the wall to the southwest, one came to the harem, where resided the ladies of the palace. Its entrance was guarded by two doors, placed at right angles so as to prevent even a glimpse by the passerby of the interior. Once inside, there was a servants' court, a court for state purposes with a statue in the center, with figures of men with slabs on their heads, perhaps intended to bear an awning, with rich tiling, and finally with three elaborate rooms, where probably the king made his visits in state to each of his wives. In addition, there were three separate suites of rooms, each around its own court and entirely isolated from the others. These were clearly for the queens. Two opened on the state court and seem to have belonged to Sargon's wives. The third opened directly on the servant's court.

1894 = H. 230. K. 1055 = H. 228 seems to belong to another man of the same name. For the great horses of Egypt, see A. 440 and the discussion on the Muçri question. The horses of Asia Minor are distinctly small, as Professor Sterrett assures me, though they have a fine reputation as roadsters. Tab çil esharra was also engaged in the horse trade. In K. 4770 = H. 97 he reports horses from Bar Halzi and in K. 5465 = H. 98 states that he has sent a messenger for horses as per orders.

[64] Place, 45 *ff.*

This would seem to be the place for the king's daughter-in-law, the wife of Sennacherib. This was a lady named Naqi'a, apparently from Harran, who also bore the Assyrian name of Zakutu or "Freed," a reference then to her father-in-law's kindness to her native city. Both as wife of Sennacherib and as mother of Esarhaddon she played a large part, with cities under her control, a large staff, and considerable influence on the course of affairs.[65]

The fourth quarter of the palace enclosure was devoted to the priesthood. Here was the ziggurat, a solid mass of brick nearly one hundred and fifty feet high. Around it ran a ramp with easy ascent and on its top were two altars on which sacrifice was offered to the gods.[66] With its varied colors,—each of the seven stories bore the color of the planet to which it was dedicated,—and its lofty height, it must have been a most imposing spectacle. Nearby was a temple adorned with reliefs in basalt, but never finished, and other buildings nearby seem to represent the private rooms of the priests.[67] Here were the astrologers, the physicians, and no doubt many of the scribes. An interesting example of a medical test comes to us from this reign. Ishtar duri, governor of Arapha, sends on to the king the two physicians, Nabu shum iddin and Nabu erba, of whom he has spoken. They know nothing of the real state of affairs and are evidently to have their knowledge tested.[68]

We cannot but express our admiration for the architects

[65] The main source for Naqi'a is 82-5-22, 90 = J. 645. See also Meissner, *Mitth. Vorderasiat. Gesell.*, 1903, 3, 12 *ff.*; Johns, *Deeds*, II. 164; *Laws*, 370 *ff.*

[66] One of these altars was left in the trenches. It seems to be the one seen by Professor Sterrett's party.

[67] Place, 137 *ff.*

[68] K. 504 = H. 157, Johnston, in Harper, *Literature*, 253 *f.* Several astrologers with names similar to men from the reign are known, but I think that other evidence places them later.

who produced such splendid results from such poor building material. All around were mountains where building stone might be obtained, and we may wonder why this, though not of a very high quality, was not used. But the Assyrian architects had their reasons. The country north of the Persian Gulf, even so far as Assyria, is exposed to terrible heats in summer, while in winter the winds come from the snow-capped mountains nearby. In summer, clay was even cooler than stone, while it had a warmth in winter never to be expected from the houses of the other material. Each king wished to build for himself, and the use of crude clay offered the quickest means, while its simplicity made it possible to utilize the gangs of prisoners from the foreign conquests.[69] Nor were the architects lacking in skill. Their bricks were fine and large, and as no mortar was used, the mass was homogeneous and there was no danger of settling.[70] The great danger was from the rains. To obviate this, all courts were paved with a double pavement of bricks and with a thick bed of bitumen between, while elaborate drains cut through the platform conducted the water outside, and at the same time connected with an admirable sewer system, the like of which would be a great blessing to the greater part of the East today.[71] They understood the pressure of the material they dealt with and made the walls thick enough to correspond. To us, with whom sunlight is a necessity and whose work is so largely indoors, the buildings seem inadequately lighted by the doors opening into the courts and by the terracotta fixtures in the roof. But the Assyrian spent the most of his time in the open air, and when he did go inside he wished darkness and coolness,

[69] Place, *222 ff.*

[70] Place, *243.*

[71] Place, *295 ff.*; *269.*

and probably spent the most of his time indoors in sleep.[72] In the evening, he would sleep on the flat roofs, whose dirt roof was kept in smooth shape by the stone rollers so numerous in the ruins. But flat roofs were not all, for the architect had a really marvelous control over the arch and vault. The use of unbaked bricks to form a vault which could remain to our day shows a high degree of ability, as does the use of the half dome in the same crude material for the courts and the formation of the vault by the gradual change of the bricks from the square walls.[73]

It is in connection with the city of Dur Sharrukin that we are enabled to study the art of the period. The troublous times preceding that of Tiglath Pileser III had almost ruined the artistic ability of the nation. But the reign of that monarch marked a change for the better, and with each succeeding reign there was a distinct advance, although this was little after Sargon.[74] The value of the sculptures for the life of the people is immense and has been fully appreciated, but they deserve study from a purely artistic standpoint. The Assyrians rarely sculptured in the round, but a good example may be seen in the standing figure with a plinth on his head who perhaps supported something.[75] Very impressive are the huge winged, man-headed bulls, of which twenty-six were found here, weighing over forty tons each.[76] Only fineness of finish could be gained here, for the general outline, even to the fifth leg, were ordained by the canons of art.

[72] Place, 315.

[73] Place, 291 *ff.*; 256.

[74] Maspero, *Empires*, 314 *ff.*, well points out these changes in art. But the remarks on the differences between the art of Sargon's and of Sennacherib's reign should be read with caution, for it is very probable that many of the sculptures in the latter's palace really came from Dur Sharrukin, Place, II. 92.

[75] Place, 122.

[76] Place, 231.

Art found its highest and freest expression in the bas-reliefs which extended in long rows, a mile in all,[77] along the walls of the main rooms in the palace. The beauty of these, whether showing the detail of a campaign or the more peaceful avocations of the chase, is very marked. Sargon's sculptors tried a new experiment in using basalt instead of the too soft alabaster. Before many slabs had been cut, the work was broken off and the workshop with its partially dressed slabs left to be discovered in our own days.[78] In accordance with the usual ancient rule, vivid colors were used to bring out the details.[79]

Painting was also used for inscriptions and for frescoes. Unfortunately, the fact that they were painted on the crude walls has rendered their preservation almost impossible, but many traces of them have been seen and one or two fragments give us an idea of an art which seems inferior to that displayed on those bas-reliefs where the artist lavished his best efforts.[80]

Far more beautiful was the work in tiling, always a specialty of the east, some of whose finest specimens have been found in the palace of Sargon. On the gates we have courses of enameled bricks where winged figures with the mystic pine cone and basket face each other across a circular ornament, perhaps the sun. The whole is included within rows of conventionalized white and yellow daisies. Other friezes of tiles show conventionalized but vigorous lions, bulls, or eagles, while a rude fig tree and a curious plow, a great contrast to the simple one of today, are also found. But the most interesting are those from the harem, where the

[77] Place, II. 69.
[78] Place, 149, 93.
[79] Place, II. 82.
[80] Place, II. 80 *ff.*

king and his tartan, Ashur danin içka, are represented. The king is dressed in a fringed blanket and a sort of jacket, open in front and leaving the right hand free, while the left is held in a sort of sling. His right hand is raised as if giving orders, his left holds the golden scepter, a survival of the rude wooden knobbed stick still used by the peasantry. On his head he wears a golden tiara studded with jewels, much like the modern fez, but with a stiff point instead of the tassel. At the back, a sort of shawl falls nearly to his waist. On his feet are low jeweled sandals with toe thong. The forehead is good, but the broad lips, pronounced nose, large ears, and thick neck seem to show a certain coarseness. His mustache is scanty, but a square-cut beard falls to his breast. His tartan, or prime minister, is dressed much like the king, save for his bare head. He looks older and wears a longer beard. He seems to rest on a spear whose point touches the ground. A careful study of these figures seems to indicate that we have here actual likenesses and very good ones.[81]

The pottery was of an advanced type. In one of the store rooms was found a large quantity of jars, one inside the other, and ranging from pithoi four feet high to pipkins.[82] But the Assyrians did not need do their best with pottery, for alabaster could be used for the more beautiful vessels, while the Phoenician invention of glass was also utilized. One beautiful and elaborate glass bottle was found in one of the store rooms, the sole unbroken survival of a

[81] Place, pl. 27, 28.

[82] Place, 82. In spite of the large quantities of pottery which might have been utilized, we still know all too little about Assyrian ceramics. As regards pottery strata, really scientific work of the sort carried on in Egypt, Syria, or Greece, is still to be undertaken. This is, to be sure, partially to be excused by the fact that bricks can be and are used for dating, but it is still unfortunately true that the archaelogy of minor articles is in a more unsatisfactory condition than in other fields of research.

large collection,[83] while a fine one with Sargon's name cut in it was found at Kalhu.[84] Gem engraving was also still carried on, as the specimens found under the gates testify.[85]

To the classical writers, the Armenian tribes were celebrated for their metal working, but they probably gained all their knowledge from the Assyrians. Copper was employed alone,[86] although more often as bronze. The fragments of bronze reliefs from the harem, probably used as facing on a wooden door, make us regret the loss of a second Balawat gate set of reliefs,[87] while the bronze lions found at Dur Sharrukin and at Kalhu, give an excellent impression as to the ability of the Assyrians in moulding and casting. These lions, inscribed in both Assyrian and Aramaic, show us the exact weights used in the Assyrian metrology. They also show another very interesting fact. The Assyrians had taken the heavy mina, while Babylonia and Syria preferred the light or Carchemish mina. The other kings simply tolerated this light mina, but Sargon, the conqueror of Carchemish, made it "royal" or official, no doubt in the hope of removing obstacles to trade between Assyria and the West.[88]

The Assyrians, well as they handled copper and bronze, had long ago entered the iron age and it was no doubt to no small degree due to this use of iron both in peace and in war that the success of Assyria was so marked.[89] How much iron was used can be surmised from the fact that one

[83] Place, 56.

[84] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon.*

[85] Place, 189.

[86] Place, 89.

[87] Place, 314.

[88] For the Khorsabad lion, see Maspero, *Empires,* 266. For those from Kalhu, Layard, *Nineveh,* I. 128. Best published in *Corpus. Ins. Semit.,* II. 8, 9, 13. Best discussion by Johns, *Deeds,* II. 256 *ff.*

[89] Place, 88.

store room at Dur Sharrukin had stored away in it nearly two hundred tons of iron, all worked up in the forms of implements. Among these was a huge iron chain, hammers, pickaxes, mattocks, and plowshare of the same sort as used by the modern natives but of a larger size,—some of the picks weighed over twenty-five pounds,—and of a finer quality, the peculiar resonance being especially noted.[90] No doubt there were also many fine pieces produced in the precious metals, but these have naturally long ago gone into the melting pot.

The work of building Dur Sharrukin, rush it as the officials might try, was slow, and we have letters in regard to its construction. One, for example, comes from Sha Ashur dubbu, of Tushhan, who reports that his men are now at Dur Sharrukin, and asks that other officials help him guard the timber until it is removed thither.[91] Every campaign brought its quota of spoil for the new city.[92] At last the palace was ready, at least, so it was decided, and the dedication took place, probably in 706.[93] This was celebrated by

[90] Place, 84 *ff.*

[91] K. 469 = H. 138, Johnston, *Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, 1897, 159 *f.* = Harper, *Literature*, 247. There is a good plenty of letters referring to Dur Sharrukin, but in few cases can we be sure they relate to the actual building. For example, there are a number from Kiçir Ashur which refer to work at that place; yet a careful study has led me to believe that he lived somewhat later. Perhaps some of the letters about transport of beams should be used, *e. g.*, K. 746 = H. 490, Harper, *Amer. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, 1897, 8; Johns, *Laws*, 342, from Ashur riçua. In S. 760 = H. 424; S. A. Smith, *Ashurbanipal*, II. 53 *ff.*; van Gelderen XIX; Johns, *Laws*, 344, refers to the Ituai who inspected beams at Eziat, from Upahhir Bel. K. 491 = H. 122, all the ivory (?) in the land sent to Dur Sharrukin.

[92] Cf., *e. g.*, A. 196 *ff.*

[93] As shown above, the data in II. R. 69 under 707 cannot be used for the history of the city. The same document under 706, Airu 6, says *Dur Sharrukin karu*. Now, whatever *karu* really does mean, it is

a sacrifice to the gods and by a great feast in which the princes of the blood royal, the great officials, the scribes sat down.[94]

Sargon's great building venture was never completed, though the city lingered on. One gate is without its bulls, its inscriptions are only painted,[95] and the palace temple is only half finished.[96] The palace itself seems never to have been used thereafter as a royal residence, at least there is no proof of such occupation. But mere natural decay was not permitted to finish the slow destruction. The successors of Sargon were vandals, and respected the palace of their ancestor no more than they did those of the dynasty they supplanted. Many of the bas-reliefs still in the palace have been mutilated beyond hope of recovery and that by no barbarian's hand, for the mutilation was caused by the chisel of the expert.[97] How many of these were carried away to adorn the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh[98] or of his successors, we do not know, nor how many were recarved. All we know is that the city lingered on until the end of the Assyrian empire and generally was known as Dur Sharrukin. Then it went to ruin. Even in the Middle Ages, the name Sarghun still lingered,[99] but by this time a new name had come in. Persia had twice held the supremacy of the East and even the second was fast becoming mythical. One of the

clear from *Assyr. Chron.*, 788–87, and Rm. 2, 97, 1–2, that *karu* was not the ceremonial dedication of a temple and that it took place before it. Rm. 2, 97, especially makes this clear when it places a second *karu* in 719, while the corresponding entrance of the god is five years later. This agrees with the present incomplete state, see below.

[94] D. 167 *ff.*

[95] Place, 181.

[96] Place, 150.

[97] Place, 68.

[98] Place, II. 92.

[99] Winckler, *Sargon*, V.

few names still remembered was Chosroes, and to him was ascribed the ruin under the name of Khorsabad, the "town of Chosroes."[100] So passed the glory of Sargon and for long centuries the only proof that he had lived was the dating of a prophecy by a prophet in a petty western kingdom as having occurred in his reign.[101] And such is the irony of fate that even this was not enough to retain for him his identity, for scholars long continued to believe that he was the same as that Shalmaneser whose throne he had usurped.

[100] *Ib.*

[101] Isaiah 20[1].

VITA

Albert Ten Eyck Olmstead was born at Troy, N. Y., March 23, 1880. He studied at the Troy High School 1894–1898, at Cornell University 1898–1904 and 1905–1906, and at the American School for Oriental Study at Jerusalem 1904–1905. He has received from Cornell University the degree of A.B. in 1902, A.M. in 1903, Ph.D. in 1906. He held the Graduate Scholarship in History in Cornell University during 1902–1903 and 1903–1904. In 1904–1905 he was Thayer Fellow of the American School for Oriental Study at Jerusalem. In 1905–1906 he was Assistant in Oriental History at Cornell University.

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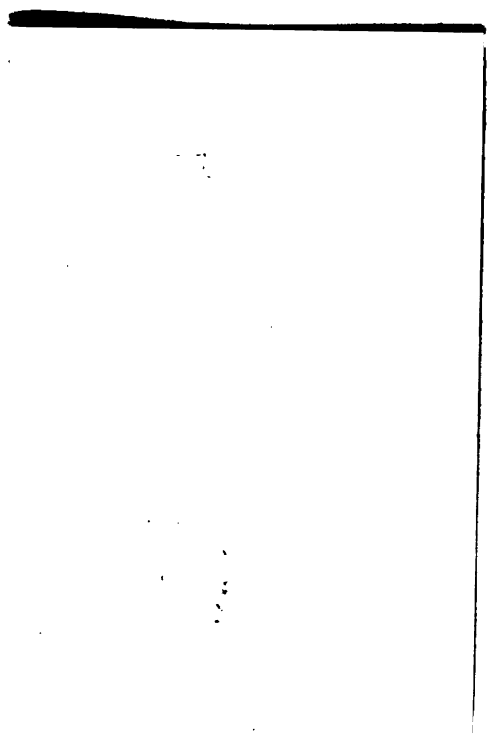

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